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Roger Hutchin

**Teachers' perceptions
of accountability and
professionalism in
newly created specialist
schools**

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Abstract

Teachers' perceptions of accountability and professionalism in newly created specialist schools

This study aimed to determine the nature of teachers' views on to whom, how, and why they felt accountable, as a school adopted specialist status.

Two case study schools were identified who had recently achieved specialist school status. Two sets of questionnaires were issued to teachers in both schools with an interval of twelve months between them. A series of interviews were also carried out with a stratified sample of teachers.

Results showed that the specialist school status made little difference to teachers' perceptions of accountability. The primary target for teachers' accountability was the pupil followed by subject colleagues and line managers. Governors and local authorities, although acknowledged as being teachers' employers were not identified strongly as targets for accountability. Teachers expressed a dominant feeling of professional accountability in their relationships with stakeholders, and considered themselves to be part of a teaching profession. Business involvement in state education was regarded with strong suspicion by all. The research therefore poses questions about the government's aim to devolve more power to governors and headteachers, and to involve businesses in raising standards in schools. It also raises concerns about how effective leadership can combine greater accountability to the school's leaders without losing the benefits of teachers' sense of professionalism.

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Introduction

In 2003 John Dunford, president of the Secondary Headteachers' Association estimated that secondary headteachers were accountable to 21 different bodies, meaning that approximately 5,000 people, including parents, were checking on what every headteacher in the country did (Dunford, 2003). Through the exercise of this accountability – which includes both answering for the resources one is given and showing responsibility for those in one's care - society and the state wish to raise the standards of education available to our children. Since Dunford wrote his article, accountability has continued to grow in importance as government initiatives have sought to widen control of the schools beyond local authorities to involve communities and businesses. Writing at approximately the same time as Dunford, Pring (2002) commented on a fragmentation of the state secondary school system, identifying grammar schools, secondary modern schools, specialist schools, advanced specialist schools, faith schools, foundation schools, community schools, beacon schools, training schools, City Technology colleges and academies. Within these categories he listed the following factors which illustrate the diversity of educational provision: organisation by age group, governance, religious faith, selective admission, curriculum specialisation, private sponsorship, accountability and funding. Since then this fragmentation has continued, through the extension of the specialist school movement and the proposed creation of trust schools. With each of these innovations the range of stakeholders has increased and the pattern of educational accountability becomes more complex.

Planning for stakeholders to receive accountability does not ensure that those supposed to be accountable actually demonstrate that accountability in practice. Stenhouse (1977) outlines the importance of accountability if one is seeking to improve the educational provision for pupils and students but points out the pitfalls

"Accountability must be associated with feelings of

responsibility: when people feel accountable they attempt conscientiously to improve their performance; when people feel unfairly called to account, they devise ways of beating the accountants without actually improving the balance sheet."

The success of a school's accountability is therefore dependent on how staff and school leadership perceive and manage that accountability. Staff perceptions of accountability are integral both to the delivery of national educational policy and the practice of leadership on a school by school basis.

In 2001 I was asked by the governors of my school to raise £50,000 of 'no-strings attached' business sponsorship and to prepare its bid for specialist school status. I successfully raised the former and had the latter accepted, leading to my promotion to the Senior Leadership Team. My new post led me to question the nature of leadership and accountability, and in particular I was concerned about what responsibilities I would have to the donors.

At this time there were more than 1,000 specialist schools in the state sector, and the government projected at least half of secondary schools would have entered specialist status within the next few years.

The specialist school programme proclaimed six objectives for schools:

- to extend the range of opportunities available to pupils which best meet their needs and interests;
- to raise standards of teaching and learning in the specialist subjects;
- to raise standards of achievement for all their pupils of all abilities;
- to develop within the schools characteristics which signal their changed identity and which reflect the school's aims
- to benefit other schools and the wider community in the area;
- to strengthen the links between schools and private and charitable sponsors. (Specialist Schools and Academies Trust, 2006)

Despite the substantial national investment in this initiative little research had been done on the extent to which some of these aims had been met. As I

describe in Chapter 2 research had focussed on standards of achievement but had largely ignored the intended stronger links between schools and new stakeholders. Only Ofsted (2001), in its evaluation of the progress of specialist schools, comments on the nature of the relationship between a specialist school and its sponsor, outlining a feature of good practice to be "successful working partnerships with sponsors" (p.132) and good subject management to be where "heads of department reported regularly to the governing body, and through it to its sponsors" (p.141).

Ofsted implies a new level of accountability both for those teaching within the specialist school and for the body which since 1988 has been responsible for the management of the school. If school-sponsor accountability is as important as Ofsted implies, awareness of this relationship by those in the school is critical.

Failing to find answers in existing literature I decided to link this research idea with a long-held desire to undertake doctoral studies. However since the start of my research the profile of the issues I chose to investigate has risen. The vast majority of state secondary schools have become specialist schools, and the role of business as a major stakeholder in education has been brought to the fore by the creation of privately-financed, public academies to replace failing schools, and the 2005 Education White Paper which is urging a greater role for local business and parents as participants in an individual school's management, at the expense of more traditional stakeholders such as local education authorities – now just local authorities. Other traditional stakeholders, such as governors, have also had their authority and powers increased by legislation. There has also been the re-emergence of the issue of accountability, in particular through the government's New Relationship with Schools (DfES, 2006a), where 'intelligent accountability' (described in Chapter 2) is vaunted with a different role for the headteacher vis-à-vis stakeholders.

At the same time, the issue of professionalism has emerged on the policy agenda, mainly in response to recruitment problems in many sectors of state education and has resulted in advertising which stresses the professional and

vocational nature of teaching, and the establishment of the General Teaching Council. Miliband (2003), when describing his vision of system-wide intelligent accountability, links together as the driving force for school improvement the heightened professionalism of the teaching workforce, evaluating and regulating itself for the benefit of its primary stakeholders – pupils and parents – and the spread of specialist schools with their greater freedom to innovate and partnerships with a wider field of stakeholders, including business. He envisages teachers and school leaders in specialist schools working within the more flexible constraints of professionalism, rather than a strait jacket of governmental directives, yet being and holding themselves accountable to the schools' stakeholders. In this context considering the extent to which the perceptions of accountability within specialist schools were actually driven by professionalism appeared to be an issue meriting research. As my research progressed this issue of professionalism emerged in the responses from teachers, leading me to explore teachers' feelings about accountability and professionalism.

When looking for a way to address the issues I had identified for my research, I was drawn back to research which I had read whilst studying for an Advanced Diploma in Educational Management with the Open University in the late 1980s, and particularly to a series of pieces of research I discuss in the next chapter from the late 1970s through to the 1990s (Becher, 1978; Lello, 1979; Elliott, 1980; Poulson, 1998). These considered why teachers exercised the accountability which was due from them. These works explored the balance between professional, moral and contractual responsibility.

This led to me identifying the following questions to research:

- What are teachers' feelings of accountability in a school achieving specialist status? What effects has becoming a specialist school had on the ethos of accountability?

In this context

- To whom do teachers feel accountable? What are teachers' feelings of accountability to different stakeholders? In particular, is business seen as a stakeholder as implied in the Specialist School aims

(“strengthen the links between schools and private and charitable sponsor”), and what are teachers’ perceptions of the relationship between education and business?

- What is the nature of the accountability? What is the current balance between moral, contractual and professional accountability?

In the light of the emergence of the issue of professionalism noted above, I added two additional research questions.

- What is the relationship between feelings of professionalism and accountability?
- Has teachers’ sense of professionalism increased or decreased since starting their career? Have some government initiatives contributed positively or negatively to teachers’ sense of professionalism?

Literature Review

Despite the complex pattern of schools and the spread of accountability mentioned in the last chapter, there is little current literature studying how the two interact. Within the context of my research questions I look firstly at the literature on accountability, secondly at stakeholders and in particular the relationship between business and education, and thirdly at that on specialist schools. Then, as professionalism became an important issue as my research progressed, I look at definitions of professionalism, and the relationship between the state and teachers.

The rise of educational accountability

Much was written in the late twentieth century on the reasons for the rise of accountability in the public consciousness. Ball (1987) identifies the roots of modern accountability to be in the Black Papers of 1969, which, drawing on the tensions between parental, societal and political expectations of the role and purpose of schooling, placed responsibility for declining academic standards on the shoulders of teachers. The debate about accountability intensified following Callaghan's Ruskin College speech (Callaghan, 1976) and the subsequent Green Paper.

"One outcome of the debate was that attempts were made to make schools and teachers more responsive to and more accountable to the needs of industry and the personal concern of parents. The force of the latter entered into law through the Education Act of 1981, which required schools to publish their examination results and gave parents the right to choose the school that they wished to send their children to. In other words schools were to be subject to market forces. The weak would go to the wall."

(Ball and Goodson, 1985, p.5)

Becher and those involved in the East Sussex Accountability Project (Becher *et al.* 1981) also attribute the rise of awareness of accountability to

the general growth of consumer rights, a public demand to know how its money is spent and a general loss of trust in public institutions and authority.

Whilst many writers see the accountability debate as evolving from the Ruskin College speech; Maclure (1978) describes it as a deliberate political act arising from four issues:

- uncertainty about standards of achievement;
- uncertainty about the content of the school curriculum;
- a feeling in favour of more participation by parents and the local community in the educational process; and
- uncertainty about where managerial responsibility lay for organising learning.

Whether the Ruskin College speech was designed to provoke debate or to soften up public opinion for already anticipated major educational changes, it was successful in preparing the ground for the widespread reforms which would follow in the 1980s.

Godwin (2002), discussing the training and status of teachers, describes how these issues were subsequently addressed through the introduction of a mandatory National Curriculum, statutory testing of pupils, the establishment of the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted), the publication of inspection reports and 'league tables' of schools based on pupils' performance in national tests.

The implication by Maclure that what is portrayed generally as a post-1976 accountability debate was no more than an attempt to create an atmosphere ready to accept changes about which decisions had already been made, is strengthened by a study of the subsequent debate. Lello (1979) records educationalists at all levels, from assistant teacher to Chief Education Officer, discussing and rejecting as unworkable or as unethical just those reforms which are subsequently imposed.

In the early 1990s, perhaps because of the comparative recentness of imposition of accountability on schools, there was little writing on its

justification, although at the end of the century writers in the United States started to question accountability as defined in that country (Reeves, 1999). In Great Britain the focus has moved from why to how. As I discuss later in this chapter even those exponents of the 'professionalisation' of teaching accept that there will be no diminution in the level of accountability. Concentration has been on the effects of shifts in accountability, such as the marginalising of the local education authority (Farrell and Law, 1995), or most recently, where the current emphasis is on leadership, how accountability should be managed (Leithwood, 2001; Bennett, Crawford and Cartwright, 2003; Bennett and Anderson, 2003). As accountability appears to be a fixed aspect of the modern educational process, this adds to the importance of how the term is interpreted by those within education, and in particular by those within educational institutions.

With few exceptions, much of the literature on educational accountability I have read and cited above has originated from an educational context which would not be recognisable to most modern teachers. Authors describe a system where Ofsted and league tables were considered both unjustifiable and unworkable by those interviewed by Becher (Becher *et al.*, 1981) in the East Sussex Accountability Project. Whilst the findings from such research may be from too different a context to be useable for the purpose of close comparison with data I have collected, these writers do provide an explanation for the current situation where accountability appears to be a fixed aspect of the modern educational process. Within that earlier research, underlying concepts have been employed, dividing accountability into different types, and ascertaining the strength of each. If one accepts the importance of accountability, it is equally important that what might be meant by that term is understood both by those who feel accountable and by those who feel that others are accountable to them.

Definitions of educational accountability

Taylor (1978) provides five definitions of accountability;

- the right of an individual student to succeed;
- feedback on and evidence of the quality of work in an institution;
- the achievement or not of previously set objectives;

contractual responsibilities;

the maximisation of customer satisfaction.

Within these five categories there is much overlap.

Ball (1987) draws upon Dale's (1979) conceptualisation of accountability in terms of relative autonomy, seeing the move in the 1980s to be from 'licensed autonomy' to 'regulated autonomy'.

In the early 1980s extensive work was carried out on accountability by Becher (1978) and the East Sussex Accountability Project, and by Elliott (1980) and the Cambridge Accountability Project. The former identifies three types of accountability - moral, professional and contractual, whilst the latter classifies three levels of contractual accountability - national, local and school. Sockett (1980a) also employs a tripartite definition to accountability, similar to Becher's. Generalising that accountability should be an attempt to improve the quality of education and to prove it is happening, he states that an 'agent' is obliged to give an account for resources she/he uses to the provider of those resources (contractual accountability); that one is accountable to the codes of practice of one's peers (professional accountability); and that one also has a moral responsibility for what one does (moral accountability).

McCormick and James (1988) develop Becher's concepts, equating moral accountability with 'answerability' to one's clients, professional accountability with 'responsibility' to oneself and to one's colleagues, and contractual accountability with 'accountability' in the strict sense of one's employers or political masters. They quote the 1980s research findings which emphasise the importance to teachers of 'answerability' and 'responsibility', whilst the public are concerned over 'accountability' (ie contractual accountability). Data from the Cambridge project reinforced the previous research, finding that teachers rarely saw their accountability extending beyond their colleagues and clients to governors and local government officials, so feeling primarily a moral and professional accountability with contractual accountability not extending beyond the local and school level. Scrimshaw (1980) discusses how best this local and

school level accountability can be implemented, foreseeing the advent of local management of schools. Sockett (1980a) extends this theme by questioning whether school accountability really exists, or whether it is only a collective teacher accountability.

Lello (1979) approaches the definition of accountability from a participant and hierarchical perspective. If Sockett is correct in equating a school's accountability with the collective accountability of those working there, Lello's research seeks to look at the nature and relationship of the individual accountabilities within the whole. Amongst his contributors, ranging from a classroom assistant teacher to a Minister of Education, he finds four recurrent themes - responsibility, partnership, service and moral obligation. He also judges there to be a consensus about what accountability involves.

"All people seem to be discussing the same multi-faceted subject. They know what accountability is. It involves reporting to other people voluntarily or compulsorily. It means having a conscience or a moral responsibility about what you are doing. It means being answerable to other people both junior and senior to yourself. It implies a dependence both on ideas and on others. It is part of the essential administrative cement in a democratic society."

(Lello, 1979, p.10)

If judging Lello's contributors' perceptions against Becher's three categories, the predominant type of accountability expressed is moral, with some reference to professional and very few references to contractual below the level of headteacher. This is also true of work by Howard (1979), Bailey (1980) and Reid (1979), who insist that a moral accountability to pupils is most important for teachers.

Lello, Becher and Elliott and many of the other writers already cited were writing prior to the extensive educational reforms at the end of the 1980s, but more modern writers find the conceptual framework established by them to be appropriate. Simkins (1992) proposes four models of school accountability - a professional model, a managerial model, a political model

and a market model. From these Busher (2003) subdivides teacher response into three - accountability, answerability and professional accountability - developments of contractual, moral and professional accountability.

Poulson (1998), researching the effects of the educational reform on teacher professionalism, finds that increased legislation has caused moral and professional accountability to wane in the face of contractual accountability. Wise (2001), looking at the role of the secondary school middle manager, confirms the pressure on teachers of contractual accountability, but stresses that this is often conflicting with perceptions of moral or professional obligation.

Within my own research I use Becher's classification of the types of accountability in my questionnaire and subsequent interviews and look at whether the trend of Poulson's work continues, and at the extent of how different perceptions of accountability conflict within individuals. The size of my research limits me to look only at Elliott's 'school' level.

How accountability is performed and to whom it is shown, are important in judging the effects of educational reform. Nisbet (1978) outlines nine different styles of evaluative procedures which can be used when reporting in an accountability process, and a further eight dimensions within which each procedure may be used. Smith (1979) analyses accountability into thirteen management functions. Adelman and Alexander (1987) identify five types of accountability function. Bridges (1980) takes an organisational viewpoint, differentiating between five patterns of accountability within institutions: autocracy, feudal barony, anarchy, individualistic democracy or communal democracy.

Post the 1988 educational reforms and the establishment of legislative accountability, writers on educational accountability focus less on schools' internal and informal accountability, and more on external and formal procedures. The predominant method of fulfilling one's accountability is by statistical reporting. This is particularly apparent in parallel developments in the United States of America.

The most recent redefinition of schools' responsibility to their stakeholders is "intelligent accountability" which originates from the government's attempt to establish a new relationship with schools (Besley, 2004). The Secondary Heads' Association (2004; 2004a; Dunford, 2004) have generally praised this initiative as a way of reducing the number of potential stakeholders, but express worries that whilst creating a new more central 'accountability conversation' (a calling of the headteacher to account for practice and results by the School Improvement Partner (SIP) on behalf of the Local Authority, and at the same time priming the SIP to champion the school's needs) may not remove the old stakeholders from the picture, thereby increasing the number of groups to whom heads are accountable. This worry appears to have been heard by those in authority, with Bell (2004), the Chief Inspector of Schools echoing the views of O'Neill (2002) and Berkeley (2003) that 'intelligent accountability' should be focussed on an internal capacity for self-review yet with external accountability to the school's immediate stakeholders - pupils, parents and the local community.

US definitions of accountability

When searching for a definition of 'educational accountability' using on-line search tools, the overwhelming amount of information made available is concerned with educational accountability in the United States of America.

Within many of these on-line sites, assessment and accountability are seen as synonymous. Frye (2000) separates these two terms - the first being a means of judging one's own performance, the second a set of initiatives used by others to assess that performance, and to penalise or reward on the basis of the outcomes - but is forced to acknowledge that in general usage the first has been subsumed as part of the second. In the United States of America educational accountability is the use of assessment by a third party to evaluate the performance of an institution or individual.

MacDonald (1987), in his discussion of educational evaluation and who controls it, outlines a classification of bureaucratic evaluation, autocratic evaluation and democratic evaluation. He portrays the American definition

of accountability to be predominantly based on bureaucratic evaluation, as where thirteen states in 1973 passed laws making teachers' tenure of position directly accountable to achieving performance-based objectives. At the time of MacDonald's writing he saw only a little evidence of autocratic evaluation within the American system and no evidence of democratic evaluation. If writing today, he might consider little has changed in how accountability is defined by those charged with ensuring its operation. In line with statutory obligations (Colorado Department of Education, 2003), state offices of educational accountability declare their aims of ensuring the highest academic standards for pupils and students but that these are "reflected in a comprehensive set of indicators" (Office of Educational Accountability, 2001, p.1) or "through assessments of student progress and other academic indicators" (Office of Educational Accountability, 1998, p.1), and "the defining characteristics of the 2003 accountability system are the use of the new TAKS (Texas Assessment of Knowledge and Skills) assessment results and completion rates" (Texas Office for Educational Accountability, 2003, p.1). The effective collection of data and the refinement of their use is the aim of many guardians of accountability (National Center for Educational Accountability, 2002; National Center on Educational Outcomes, 2003).¹ MacDonald would, however, recognise that by putting these league tables into the public domain, through printed reports and the use of the Internet, there is a move towards his 'democratic evaluation'.

The American system is not without its critics. Sockett (1980a) attacks it for being too simplistic. His complaints are that league tables make no allowance for the pupil as a unique individual; that the system only tests what can be measured; that bureaucracy is increased at the expense of teaching; that the threat of losing league table position curtails risk-taking and therefore excellence; that league tables only show improved test scores not improved education; and that the American system is concerned only with public benefits and not with individual's benefits.

Although the predominant definition of accountability has been a 'top-down', judgement of performance by employer of employee, there is

evidence now that there is also a move towards a wider definition.

Organisations, such as the Center for Performance Assessment believe that accountability is more than just test scores (2003, p.1), recognise the desire for public information and acknowledge the need for acceptance of an accountability system by those being held to account, otherwise, as Linn (1988) points out in his discussion of 'high-stakes accountability', the accountability process, and ultimately the educational system, risks being perverted by those whose jobs may be under threat. This movement has led to the establishment of bodies such as CREATE (the Consortium for Research on Educational Accountability and Teacher Evaluation, 2003), providing a forum where those engaged in education can present, discuss and disseminate educational research, policy and practice at a professional level.

Frye (2000), cited at the start of this chapter, in his critique of the US system of educational accountability mirrors this movement, calling for accountability to be more about quality than fiscal efficiency, and advocating that such accountability must be more of professionals by professionals.

Whilst it would be too simplistic to try and draw direct analogies between the bureaucratic, autocratic and democratic evaluation of MacDonald with the contractual, professional and moral accountabilities of Becher, there does appear to have been a significant emphasis on the contractual aspect of accountability within the American system, with a greater degree of penalty than that within the English and Welsh systems, which is being rejected now as providing too narrow a focus and placing limits on the work of educators based on what can easily be measured. The current move as advocated by CREATE and Frye is towards that professional accountability sought by British politicians such as Twigg (Ward, 2003).

Current writings also mirror to some extent the 'intelligent accountability' debate in the UK, focussing on redirecting educational accountability to internal systems and local stakeholders. At the turn of the century educational writers were already criticising equating accountability with

meeting externally set targets for schools (Lashway, 1999; Martin, 2000), but these views have been re-emphasised by writers such as Lingenfelter (2003) and Jones (2004) who see the important stakeholders as being children and not government. Reeves (2004) outlines at length a system of 'student-centred accountability', centred in the classroom, around the child. He acknowledges that those in political authority are unlikely to give up their role of holding schools to account but he wants teachers to diminish the impact of such bureaucratic accountability by overlaying their own 'holistic accountability' which reports matters such as teaching, leadership, curriculum and parental involvement, of more concern to them and to the primary stakeholders, and in attempt to add a hard edge to such a system, making it acceptable to those outside the school, he describes how each matter could be judged and reported in measurable terms.

Within the context of this research project I hoped to see whether the contractual accountability which resulted from the 1988 Education Act, as observed by researchers such as Poulson (1988), is being rejected in the same manner in this country as it is in the United States of America.

The stakeholders

There is a very close relationship between the type of accountability and the stakeholder to whom a teacher may feel accountable.

Nisbet (1978) and Sockett (1980a) identify three groups to whom those working in schools are accountable: those who provide resources (the public, decision-makers), the customers (parents, pupils, employers), and the educational community (professionals, concerned non-professionals, the geographical community). Smith, a headteacher interviewed by Lello (1979), lists those to whom he is accountable: government, the local education authority, governing body, parents, employers. This is a narrower range than that of Nisbet and Sockett, excluding any accountability to employees, but is one which is mirrored in Eraut's (1978) diagram of how accountability works at school level.

Whether or not to include professional peers in accountability depends on one's view of teaching as a job or profession. Whilst Howard (1979), Reid (1979) and Bailey (1980) all promulgate the rights and responsibilities of teachers as professionals, Gibson (1980) underlines the opposing view that teachers are employees by virtue of their relationship with others such as local education authorities and headteachers. (Amongst all the writers on who is a stakeholder within the educational accountability system, Howard is the only one who makes reference to teachers being accountable to their own families.) Farrell and Law (1995) explain how the 1988 Education Act has significantly changed the way teachers are viewed and view themselves from professionals to employees, as their freedom of practice is limited by the National Curriculum and external testing.

Whilst 'bottom-up' accountability predominated alongside the league-table image of accountability, as shown in both the American and British models, a more collegiate outlook appears to be resurfacing. As the British government seeks to reaffirm teaching as a profession, through the establishment of the GTC, and writers such as Beare (2001) - referred to frequently in a positive fashion by government advisors speaking at national conferences - push the re-professionalisation of teaching, this research project may show whether Nisbet's third stakeholder group (the educational community) is re-emerging.

The twenty-one different bodies to which Dunford claims secondary headteachers are now accountable can be subsumed within Nisbet's groups, although there is a greater overlap as customers also become resource-providers, and the geographical community is more closely identified as a customer of the school. Recent secondary educational reform in England and Wales has resulted largely in the blurring of Nisbet's boundaries, particularly by promoting business and commerce as additional resource-providers.

Day (2003a) feels that headteachers are in a position of having to balance accountability to government and its initiatives with a responsibility for the education of students. Pulling together ideas from writers such as Beare

(2001) he also raises the prospect of individual schools being subsumed within a wider network of learning structures within society, and the need for teachers to be capable of developing new and demanding internal and external relationships (Day, 2003b). In particular he draws on Hargreaves' (2000) idea of four ages of professionalism, quoting him:

"So we are now on the edge of an age of post-modern professionalism where teachers deal with a diverse and complex clientele, in conditions of increasing moral uncertainty, where many methods of approach are possible, and where more and more social groups have an influence and a say. Whether this post-modern age will see exciting and positive new partnerships being created with groups and institutions beyond the school, and teachers learning to work effectively, openly and authoritatively with those partners in a broad social movement that protects and advances their professionalism, or whether it will witness the deprofessionalization of teaching as teachers crumble under multiple pressures, intensified work demands, reduced opportunities to learn from colleagues, and enervating discourses of derision, is something that is still to be decided." (Hargreaves, 2000; p.175)

The business - education partnership

When one considers the extent to which the British and US governments emphasise the benefits and need for a closer relationship between commerce and education, it is surprising how little research is available on the effects of such relationships. There is, however, much professional writing on this topic, much of it looking at the perceived advantages and disadvantages of private involvement in the public sector.

Fitz and Beer (2002) provide a comprehensive study of the privatisation of public education in the United States of America and Britain. They identify different forms of privatisation, including vouchers, contracting out, public-private partnerships, take-overs and tax credits. They lay the roots of

business-education links in Callaghan's Ruskin College speech (Callaghan, 1976) and the US publication *A Nation at Risk* (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983). In Britain curriculum change and initiatives, such as the Technical and Vocational Educational Initiative (1982-1994) followed, whilst in the USA more than three hundred reports were published, largely critical of the quality of state education. They assert that throughout the 1980s the political ideologies in both countries encouraged partnerships, using public accountability in terms of reporting performance as a way of belittling state schools, and underfunding them so that additional private finance was needed, thereby allowing low tax regimes. When looking at British ways in which private finance is employed, Fitz and Beer consider compulsory competitive tendering, public private partnerships and private finance initiatives, rather than the sponsorships involved in the specialist school movement. They conclude that in both the US and in Britain privatisation has not had the positive effect politicians hoped but that the tighter control exercised by the British government has prevented much of the vociferous criticism of teachers' organisations and community groups in the United States.

Writings promoted by pressure groups representing business or educational professionals stress either the benefits or the disadvantages of commercial sponsorship. In the United States the Business Coalition for Education Reform (2003) sees that business involvement can help with teacher training to improve the quality of teaching. The National Alliance of Business (1987) identifies, in addition to professional development, five other areas of partnership - policy, systematic educational improvements, management, classroom activities and special services - subdividing each into many possible activities.

A report by the University of Oregon (Clearinghouse on Educational Management, 2002a), looking at business motivation for partnerships claims that this is varied across a range from a feeling of shared responsibility for educating the nation's youth to primarily an opportunity to conduct market research and advertise in schools; the latter producing an understandable

reaction from the National Parent Teachers' Association calling for control on such practices.

A second report from the same source (Clearinghouse on Educational Management, 2002b) describes how the American business community has manipulated legislation to control educational policy but again critics have attacked the involvement as self-seeking interference.

Larson (2002) adds more detail to the type of commercial activities taking place in American schools - product sales, market research, and advertising both direct and indirect, and how schools should formulate policies to maximise the financial benefits of a partnership whilst maintaining the high ethical standards demanded by educationalists and parents.

A similar for and against dialogue exists amongst writers on business involvement in the English and Welsh education sectors, but with more emphasis on commercial sponsorship as part of government initiatives such as the Specialist School movement, City Technology Colleges, Education Action Zones and others. Whereas in American writing the business-education partnerships movement is strongly led by the business side, dissatisfied with state provision, in British writing the government appears to be the moving force, seeking to exploit business to remedy the shortcomings it has identified in its own system. The School Standards Minister, Stephen Timms, expressed a pragmatic view that the government will exploit whatever opportunities exist to raise standards, whilst making the public sector still accountable for outcomes (Department for Education and Skills, 2001d). The private resources may be time and expertise contributed to governing bodies (O'Grady, 1999), money and positive publicity through the recruitment of celebrities as sponsors (Arkin, 2003; Press Association News, 2003b; White, 2002), or ring-fenced finance or resources donated by commercial suppliers (Slater, 2003a). It is left to writers such as Beare (2001) and Ohmae (2001) to discuss the wider benefits of business involvement in twenty-first century education where they both identify a greater need for vocational training.

Hastings (2003) estimates that schools in England raise £500 million a year above funding from the state or fee-paying parents, and raises many of the same questions as Larson (2001) about the extent to which principles should be compromised to raise money. The opposition to what is portrayed as the 'privatisation' of education is at several levels. For many the problem is one of choice of sponsor rather than with the policy. Some opponents make use of high profile sponsorships which can be portrayed in a questionable manner, such as that of physical education by confectionery companies (Slater, 2003), whilst for others the rejection of sponsorship can be attributed to disapproval of a particular life style - the rejection by Paul Tyler, MP, of McDonalds' funding of a Cornish school governors' council (Press Association News, 2003), or using advertisements for driving schools, telephone companies, travel companies or radio stations to finance school diaries (Blythman, 2001). There is suspicion that schools' funding will be diverted into sponsors' coffers (Slater, 2003a). Despite the government's expressed desire for business people to donate their expertise, those who try are attacked as interfering or seeking to impose their personal values on schools (Hoare, 2000; White, 2002). In an attempt to address these worries guidelines are provided (Department for Education and Skills, 2003) for British schools, mirroring those available for schools in the USA (Larson, 2001).

At the extreme end of opposition are those who reject commercialism totally, usually on political or philosophical grounds. Stewart (2003) reports how local education authorities refuse partnerships, feeling that the public sector will be privatised. Harris (2001), adopting a left-wing anti-New Labour stance, envisages the state education sector being replaced by a for-profit private system. Abrams (2001) sees business-education partnerships as creating a two tier system of education where many students would receive an inferior education compared with commercialised peers. In the light of this vehement opposition many businesses consider that entering partnerships with education may bring negative publicity.

The theme of accountability is implicit in all the writings about business-education partnerships. One might see the business side broadly

representing a call for a more answerable education system with tighter contractual accountability for those working in the system, and the anti-commercialism side wanting to maintain an element of moral and professional accountability. This would be a far too simplistic view, since business influence may seek a more professional educational management, whilst the state sector is already heavily reliant on contractual accountability. What is clear is that business-education partnerships involve a reassessment of the importance of different stakeholders. Pollock, Shaoul, Rowland and Player in the Catalyst report on the *Public services and the private sector* say

"- the private sector has moral obligations to investors that take priority over social obligations to customers,
- the public sector is motivated towards social responsibility and environmental awareness." (Pollock *et al.*, 2001, p.15)

"Relying on private companies to provide state funded services introduces new stakeholders into the system with a financial claim on public revenues. It will almost certainly lead to an increase in administration costs and will move public services further away from democratic control." (Pollock *et al.*, 2001, p.40)

Whether these concerns expressed in writing are reflected by those working in a school involved in a business-education partnership is the topic of this research project.

The specialist school movement

At the time of starting my research there were more than one thousand specialist schools in the state sector, and the government projected at least half of secondary schools would have entered specialist status within the next few years.

Within the official documentation accompanying the specialist school status application form, much is made of the role of the sponsor. *Language College Applications: A Guide for Schools* (DfEE, 2000) highlights the partnership with business sponsors

“The Specialist Schools programme helps schools, in partnership with private sector sponsors and supported by additional Government funding, to build on their particular strengths, establish distinctive identities through their chosen specialisms, and achieve their targets to raise standards.”(para.2, p.3)

and the expectations for Language Colleges include the aim to “strengthen the links between schools and private or charitable sector sponsors. Sponsors will not only support their Language College with cash or goods sponsorship, but will also take an ongoing role in the development of the school.” (para 4, p.4)

All applications must include

“sponsorship details including proposals for achieving ongoing links with sponsors” (para 35, p.14)

and judgement of applications is made on the quality of the school’s plan to

“involve sponsors in its future development, including through links with the governing body” (para 40, p.16)

Sponsorship must bring no financial benefit to sponsors but they should be given influence within the schools they fund, and can expect to be accounted to by the school

“Language Colleges are encouraged to appoint to their governing body representatives of their sponsors ...

Other options may include one or more of the following:

- appointing a sponsor to fill a vacancy on the governing body;
- including a sponsor on the Language College management committee;
- providing an annual report to sponsors on progress on the development plan, for discussion at an annual meeting of sponsors; and

- attending relevant sub-committee meetings of the governing body, and receiving copies of relevant papers. The school's governing body could give sponsors or their representatives rights to attend and speak (but not vote) at such meetings; and to receive the papers and minutes of relevant discussions." (para 133-134, p.54)

There is however little literature on accountability in specialist schools as distinct from 'mainstream' or research on the involvement of their sponsors.

Much of the professional writing which is available falls into two categories. The first purports to be descriptive, outlining the role of a specialist college, the advertised benefits, how to apply for such status, and the statistical results from those specialist schools already established (Department for Education and Skills, 2002; Technology College Trust, 2002). Such sources stress the importance of a partnership between schools and their sponsors. Writers, usually on behalf of official bodies, are at pains to emphasise the success of the initiative in raising school standards (*Education*, 1995). They address sponsorship as reports of who is sponsoring whom and for how much (Engineering Employers Federation, 2002).

As my research has progressed there have been several books and articles published by those involved in the Specialist School Trust inspired by its tenth anniversary and reviewing its effect. Taylor, Ryan, and Reid (Taylor and Ryan, 2005; Taylor, 2004; Reid 2004) attribute part of the success of specialist schools to the involvement of business and this has been picked up by government ministers (Clarke, 2004) as a reason for expanding the influence of business from just financing education to contributing to mentoring, governance and the curriculum. Examples of extreme philanthropy have been described to underline the positive nature of these education-business links (Ward, 2004).

The second, more critical, group of literature focuses largely on outcomes rather than process, questioning whether raised standards of GCSE results are due to extra funding rather than any 'specialist school effect' (Henry, 2000; Cassidy, 2000; Shaw, 2003), or to unfair competition when it comes to primary-secondary pupil transfer (Lane, 2001; Walford 1991a).

Few writers focus on the relationships between the specialist schools and their stakeholders - relationships which, according to the guideline for applications (Department for Education and Employment, 2000), and governmental handouts (Department for Education and Skills, 2002) make specialist colleges distinct. Bell and West (2003) have looked at levels of co-operation between the specialist college and its partner secondary schools. Walford (1991) discusses the reluctance of business to enter into sponsorship partnerships with City Technology Colleges. As mentioned in Chapter 1 Ofsted alone evaluates the relationship between school and sponsor. There is, however, scepticism, particularly from the educational press (Stewart and Mansell, 2004; Marshall, 2002; Clark, 2004) which emphasises the profit motive of participating businesses, and from writers such as Selwyn and Fitz (2001) who focus on those businesses which shy away from involvement due to fears of no profit and sharing the blame for any educational shortfalls. These negative views have had little effect on current government thinking as its most recent initiatives, Academies and Foundation Schools, both rely on an input from businesses which themselves receive no direct financial benefits.

Accountability and professionalism

The literature on accountability raised the importance of professionalism both as a motivation for improving standards and as a block to accepting new stakeholders such as business sponsors (for example Hoare, 2000; White, 2002) . This was reinforced by findings as my research progressed.

Looking at the existing literature I investigated first the meaning of the term professional, whether teaching can claim to be a profession, and the relationship between the state and teachers.

Defining a profession

The definition of a profession has changed little over the past fifty years.

Hoyle (1969) lays out what he sees to be the criteria for a profession. It

- performs an essential social service
- is founded upon a systematic body of knowledge
- requires a lengthy period of academic and practical training
- has a high degree of autonomy, both for the individual and the profession
- has a code of ethics
- generates in-service growth.

Beare (2001) considers professionalism is a status conferred by the public rather than by the occupational group. It has to be earned and deserved.

Professionalism only ever arises in an occupation which has some pivotal importance for the public and for particular clients – Hoyle's 'essential service'. He also lists prerequisites for claims to professionalism

- prior knowledge or learning
- skills and a level of competency
- a long pre-service preparation
- sophisticated theoretical understandings
- higher education – degree or diploma
- professional registration
- self-regulation
- formal professional development.

He feels increasing formal professional development and the use of technologies leads to increased specialisation. This makes public control more difficult, necessitating the profession to construct its own strict code of conduct to provide public reassurance.

“The services dispensed by a profession tend to become differentiated, complex and non-standard in the sense that every client and every condition is likely to have its own peculiarities which have to be addressed. This concern for the individual client tends to become the driving force behind all professional practice. The client's best interests are at all times paramount. The professional would therefore prefer whenever possible to have a direct professional-to-

client relationship with no intermediaries and with the client (or a surrogate) charged an appropriate fee for service.” (Beare, 2001, p.176)

Bergen (1988) describes Barber’s (1963) functionalist definition of a profession

- a high degree of generalised and systematic knowledge
- a primary orientation to community interest rather than self-interest
- the use of codes of ethics to produce a high degree of self-control
- a system of monetary and honorary rewards as symbols of work achieved.

Larson (1977) has a broader definition. He describes professionals as bureaucratised state employees who may retain residual elements of older models of professionalism, such as service, altruism and autonomy.

Barriers for teaching as a profession

For most writers the insurmountable barrier for teachers to become true professionals lies in the control of their work.

When considering whether teachers’ claims to be professional can be sustained it is necessary to balance those claims against the factors listed above and the reality of teaching today. Tropp (1957) provides a detailed historical study of the development of teaching as a career towards professional status. He describes teaching as it enters the second half of the twentieth century, drawing a picture of a profession with little or no formal accountability and a high degree of autonomy.

“At his work the teacher has gained almost complete independence. He is unlikely to lose his post except for the grossest neglect of duty. Her Majesty’s Inspector of Schools, once a tyrant, is now at the worst a nuisance whose enthusiasm for his pet ‘fads’, ‘activities’, ‘projects’ and ‘courses’ can be readily appeased, and at the best (and it generally is at the best) a helpful senior colleague. While there is some talk of administrative interference and petty bureaucracy, the general tendency appears to be towards a

lifting of existing restrictions rather than an imposing of new ones.” (Tropp, 1957, p.269)

In the twenty-first century world of league tables and Ofsted, Tropp’s claims for professionalism on the grounds of autonomy and self-regulation cannot be upheld.

Gosden (1972) also produces a historical approach to the professionalisation of teaching. He describes how this has been a long-term goal of teachers, citing how the Assistant Masters’ Association, set up in 1891, had as one of its aims

“to form a body which shall protect and further the interests of assistant masters in secondary schools: (a) by obtaining for teachers in secondary schools the status and authority of a learned profession...” (Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters, Annual Report, 1896, p.10, in Gosden, 1972, p.9)

He records how action taken by the teacher associations achieved the salary and superannuation arrangements expected of a fledgling profession, yet admits they have failed to achieve the key lever – regulation of entry and training to control the membership of the profession – because most teachers are employees working for a monopolistic buyer of their services who has a vested interest in retaining that ultimate control.

Walsh (1987) feels that teachers’ claims fail to match those of professionals since on the one hand teaching is too externally controlled and on the other hand too individualistic.

“Professionalism is a dynamic concept, changing its meaning according to the claim that occupations generally acknowledged to be professions are able to make. Those professions are strongest in their claims to autonomy that can claim independent self-control both on the basis of technical knowledge and indeterminate, experience-based, skill. Teachers’ claims to technical control of the curriculum are no longer accepted, as central government and the LEAs have reasserted control. The privacy and individualistic

nature of teaching has made the development of a collective professional voice difficult.” (Walsh, 1987, p.164)

Hoyle (1969) sees the barriers to teachers’ claims to be commitment to a profession – teaching is a second choice for graduates – salary and ‘the nature of the final award’. The first two of these are less significant than when Hoyle was writing and the third has been addressed by making a degree compulsory for entrants to teaching.

Bergen (1988) quotes a 1917-18 parliamentary report on teachers’ salaries

“Teaching is by common consent a profession... at the same time it suffers from the fact that its membership is not so strictly defined as that of law or medicine” (British

Parliamentary papers, 1917-18, XI Report.. ‘Scales of Salary for Teachers in Elementary Schools’, Bergen, 1988, p.39)

and judges teaching to be a semi-profession because of its high level of bureaucratisation.

The state – teacher relationship

As described above professions receive their licence to practise from the state and the terms of that licence depends on requirements of the state.

The term ‘state’ is itself problematical and its definition affects its relationship with teaching. Bergen (1988) equates the state with

government, whilst Grace (1987) broadens state to include the complete apparatus of the state which continues even when governments change.

O’Keeffe (1981) favours a neo-liberalist viewpoint, moving towards increased teacher accountability and parental choice, allowing market forces to determine school survival. Shipman (1984) takes a corporatist view of the state whose structure includes a changing range of empowered groups, such as teachers’ unions, who negotiate policies without reference to Parliament.

Gosden (1972) sees teachers as negotiating reduced state regulation but they fail because of divisions among teachers, such as class and gender, and because of political and economic factors.

For Lawn and Ozga (1988) the invocation of professionalism by teachers is seen as a support for claims for higher salaries and to oppose the carrying out of non-teaching duties. Employers and central government invoke professionalism to condemn teachers' strikes, to support appraisal and the restructuring of the promotion system. Most writers see the relationship being weighted in favour of the state. Johnson (1972) defines professionalism as occupational control rather than as the inherent nature of an occupation.

“Where the functions of maintaining standards are taken over by state agencies, or are provided for in legislation, the occupational association is transformed into an occupational pressure group, effectively losing its powers to prescribe its manner or practice.” (Johnson, 1972, p.80)

Writers such as Roy (1983) see the imbalance to be a severe threat for any hope of an ‘independent’ teaching profession and the politicisation of education.

“ The attack on teaching ... has its roots in a philosophy resting on a belief that it is central government, its ministers and civil servants, that must determine not only the shape of the school system but of the curriculum and the methodology of the teaching process. Teachers must therefore be subordinated to a political will based on the notion that only an all-powerful state knows what is best for its citizens...”(Roy, 1983, p.1)

He goes further to describe how this attack by the state may rob the teacher of his freedom to do his job in the best interests of the children, expressing it as “the greatest challenge to the teaching profession since the introduction of state education in 1870” (p.4).

Many writers describe how the imbalance in the state teacher relationship is leading to the proletarianisation of teachers – the deprivation of the capacity to initiate and execute work, the erosion of workplace autonomy, a decline in craft skills and increased management controls. Walsh (1987) sees initiatives such as appraisal as being one means of doing this. Ball and

Goodson (1985) describe how the growth of a management culture in education has also been responsible.

Grace (1987) propounds an “ethic of legitimated teacher professionalism” as an answer to the state-teacher imbalance, where teachers keep themselves in check and the state gives them freedom. To achieve this, the state needs to have a detailed knowledge of what is actually happening in schools and a mechanism for regulating the teaching function. The rise in mechanisms of accountability is one of the results.

Issues raised for my research

Literature on accountability

This review has indicated that despite the many different definitions of accountability, Becher's consideration of accountability to be a mix of moral, contractual and professional responsibilities has stood the test of time and provides a framework against which changes in accountability can be judged. Subsequently researchers and commentators have observed changes from a moral and professional dominance to a surge in contractual accountability, stimulated by government legislation, and then an emerging backlash in favour of professional accountability in the light of perceived interference by a private sector with no democratic mandate, and a move by educational employers to emphasise the professionalism of teachers to make the career more attractive in a time of low graduate unemployment. By addressing current perceptions of accountability within this moral, professional and contractual framework my research seeks to add to this continuum of information.

If Stenhouse (1977) is correct in his judgement that accountability will only raise standards if there are clear and acceptable lines of accountability, and if Maclure (1978) is right that the rise in accountability was in part due to uncertainties about managerial responsibility for organising learning, then there appears to be a significant flaw in the current government educational policy of expanding the specialist school movement to encompass the majority of state secondary schools.

In Britain the drive behind the business-education partnerships, and the specialist school movement in particular, is one of raising standards, through increased involvement of new types of stakeholders, yet this is likely to create many more possible lines of accountability within an establishment than exist at present, and is therefore at variance with Stenhouse's formula for success. If lines of accountability remain unchanged in the eyes of those working in the newly designated specialist school, then a rise in standards is more likely, but new stakeholders will be marginalised or ignored altogether. By focussing my research on specialist schools and on the perceptions of accountability held by the staff in those schools, I sought to indicate whether the business-education relationship is perceived from the education side as being a partnership with the rights and responsibilities inherent in such a relationship, or whether business is seen as a source of extra funding to be tapped and then ignored.

Drawing on the extensive and historic bank of research on accountability for its methodological framework and adding the more recent but equally extensively discussed context of business-education partnerships, and focussing on the virtually unresearched, major plank of current government policy for the organisation of state secondary schooling, this research project sought to contribute to all three areas separately, but more importantly linking those three areas for the first time as a contribution to any, overdue, assessment of the success of the government's specialist school policy.

These readings raised the following issues for me to study

- to whom teachers felt accountable;
- the nature of this accountability;
- whether a school's move to specialist college status changes teachers' perceptions of who are the school's stakeholders;
- whether such a move influences any responsibilities and obligations teachers feel; and
- the wider role of business sponsorship and involvement in state education.

Literature on professionalism

As teaching moves into the twenty-first century there is a move towards re-establishing its claims to professionalism. Looking forward to the coming century, Fullan (1992) argues for the development of a professional culture in schools. He sees this as both a strategy and an outcome of leadership and management. Beare (2001) predicts a more professional and more specialised teaching force, but foresees a need for much clearer accountability than has been the case so far:

“The professionalization of teaching, the complexification of learning systems, and the complications of managing the intricate business of schooling are demolishing the simplicities of past practices and are leading to wholesale diversification, not least in the way educators operate. A school which has therefore not faced the assignment of making specific what is expected of each teacher or staff member, what particular functions each individual teacher is to perform, and how good performance will be judged and measured is not really in a good posture to meet the conditions which schools will meet as the new world-view takes hold.” (Beare, 2001, p.171)

This literature raised the following issues for me to study

- colleagues’ motivation for becoming a teacher;
- whether they have perceived any move towards proletarianisation; and
- whether government initiatives have influenced teachers’ feeling of professionalism.

In my conclusion I return to the concepts described above to reassess whether Beare’s vision is taking hold, where the state-teacher balance lies, and the extent and effect of teachers’ feeling of professionalism

Methodology

Having identified my key issues for investigation and a body of research to which I wanted to contribute, it was necessary to be realistic about the methodology to employ. Within the limitations created by a part-time, single-handed, self-financed researcher, the project was carried out in two recently-designated specialist schools, using questionnaires and interviews with teaching staff, during the first two years of the schools' new role.

Research philosophy

Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Lowe (1994) stress the need to locate one's research within a philosophical context. In order to probe subjects' perceptions of accountability, and to build on the work of Becher (1978) and Elliott (1980), I adopted in part a qualitative approach to my research, allowing me to develop my questioning in reaction to answers I was given, thereby getting behind what was said to what was meant. There is, however, a quantitative aspect to my work since I used questionnaires to examine teachers' views of accountability and to determine which people were interviewed, and the results of these questionnaires produced quantitative data for analysis. Whilst my research has aspects of ethnography in Case Study School 1 (my own) - I was "participating... in people's daily lives for an extended period" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995:p.2) - this was not the situation in Case Study School 2 where I was an outsider who, due to pressures of time, visited for the purpose of data. I did, however, endeavour to meet Delamont's definition of ethnography - "...the researcher values the views, perspectives, opinions, prejudices and beliefs of the informants, actors or respondents ... Your job is to find out how the people you are researching understand their world" (Delamont, 1992:p.7), yet as a part-time researcher I recognised that this was an ideal to which to aspire rather than a realistic goal. As such my research cannot be placed centrally within the field of ethnography. As my work involves how respondents construct their reality, my approach is mainly phenomenologist, yet my use of

questionnaires and their analysis to see if patterns occur hints at positivism. I acknowledge that I cannot claim to be value-free myself, despite any attempt I made to establish a level of procedural objectivity.

Given the difficulty to fit my research neatly within either the positivist or interpretivist paradigm it is reassuring to read writers of educational research, such as Swann and Pratt (2003), who consider terms such as quantitative and qualitative to refer to techniques of research rather than separate methodologies and accept that research does not need to fit into tightly defined categories to be valid or worthwhile.

I adopted a case study, rather than an experiment or survey approach, drawing primarily on the opportunity sample provided by two local schools. I recognise that taking such an approach brings with it advantages and disadvantages. Nisbet and Watt (1984) consider that one of the strengths of a case study approach to be that it is more practical for an individual researcher, but point out the weaknesses of the personal/subjective researcher, a difficulty on the reader's part to determine the extent to which the observer's perceptions have effected the conclusions reached, and the problems of generalising those conclusions. As a 'participant observer' (Hargreaves, 1967) I had access to information which might be denied to a 'detached observer' (Richardson, 1973), although this inside knowledge may be difficult to reconcile with the traditional neutral role of the conventional researcher. Ball (1993) and Measor and Woods (1991) discuss the pitfalls of insider-researcher's perceptions and the preconceived views of the researcher held by the respondents. By describing myself and the social processes involved in the research, I hope to allow readers to judge the validity of any claim that might arise.

A second problem of case study research is whether its findings can be generalised and therefore be used by policy-makers. By using two schools rather than a single school, it is possible only to make the most tenuous analytical generalisations (Yin, 1994) even if both schools demonstrate the same tendencies. This does not discount the case study approach as a method which can provide useful and practical findings. Rather than a

traditional view of generalisation being the goal of a piece of educational research, I consider that any findings produced from this can be judged by the concepts of 'fittingness' (Guba and Lincoln, 1982), 'comparability' or 'translatability' (Goetz and LeCompte, 1984) or 'naturalistic generalisation' (Stake, 1978). Bassey (1984) in his early writings goes so far as to question whether there is any merit at all in attempting to generalise from the study of single events, but considers that this type of research is more profitable (judged by the criterion of usefulness to teachers) if the teacher reading it can relate it to her/his own teaching. He feels that teachers prefer 'closed generalisations' (references to a specified set of events, without extrapolation to similar events) when looking for aids to decision-making. Therefore in formulating a closed generalisation the more information which is given helps a teacher to relate the teaching situation of the generalisation to her/his own, the more likely it is to be useful to her/him.

In the following section I have provided a 'thick description' (Schofield, 1993) to allow interested readers to judge the level of 'fit' between the situation described in my research and their own. My aims, therefore, like my resources, were modest, looking to provide what Walford describes as 'another brick of research with which a future researcher can construct a wall of knowledge' ² and at best producing some 'fuzzy generalisations' (Bassey, 2003) to which educationalists can apply their Best Estimate of Trustworthiness, until such time as these generalisations are disproved or superseded.

The case study schools

The research project was set in two case study schools. Both were in a stage of transition from state comprehensive to a specialist language college, were popular within their areas and were sited in predominantly middle-class areas.

Case Study School 1 had 1700 pupils aged between 11 and 16, having grown from a 1000-pupil school fifteen years before. At that earlier time it was perceived within its catchment area as an ex-secondary modern school with poor academic results (30 per cent of pupils achieving at least 5 A*- C

GCSE grades) and was bypassed by many parents in favour of other schools further away. (The 1993 Ofsted report on the school calculated that in 1988 as many as one parent in four chose to send her/his child to a more distant school.) Over the intervening fifteen years the leadership of the school changed and a huge growth of residential building in the area stimulated a building refurbishment and expansion programme on the school site which has continued almost without break since 1990. By the time this research took place (2004-2006) academic results had improved to 70 per cent 5 A*-C and there was a waiting list for places. The school had developed its community education over the same period, becoming one of the top three within its Local Education Authority in terms of numbers of community students (adult and young learners other than the school's pupils) using the school's facilities during the school day, evening, weekends and holidays. In September 2002, having raised the required £50,000 of private sponsorship, including a substantial donation from a major bank, the school was designated as a specialist language college.

In 2004 the school had almost 100 teachers and a further 40 support staff. I have been employed in Case Study School 1 since September 1990 when I was appointed as Head of Modern Languages. During the period of time since I have served as ICT Co-ordinator, acting Deputy Headteacher, and, at the time of writing this report, am currently an Assistant Headteacher with the title of Language College Director, having written the school's specialist college bid and having obtained the major part of the school's sponsorship.

Case Study School 2 was located fifteen miles from Case Study School 1 within the same LEA. Over the past decade the school had grown in size to approximately 900 11-16 year-old pupils, with a corresponding rise in academic standards (56 per cent 5 A*-C in 2005), and at the time of the research was oversubscribed. During the 1990s the school took Grant Maintained status, opting out of direct LEA control, but returned to the LEA as a foundation school when Grant Maintained status was abolished by the government. In September 2003 the school was designated a specialist language college.

The school had approximately 50 teachers and a further 20 support staff. Whilst I had no direct links to the main teaching staff in general in Case Study School 2 I had acted as an unofficial consultant for its specialist school bid and had known the Language College Director and the members of the Senior Management for many years.

Research strategy

As described above I centred my research in the two schools described at the start of this section. Both schools were chosen for reasons of practicality - both were geographically convenient for me to reach within the time constraints of my job, and personal links with the senior management in both schools had facilitated access. The first school - having been awarded Language College status in September 2002 - was twelve months into its designation at the start of this research and the second school received its Language College designation in September 2003. Whilst the original intention for choosing a second case study school had been that the first stage of research should be carried out before designation - providing an authentic 'before and after' model, this was not possible. Aspirant specialist schools have their bids judged on a twice yearly basis, in December and May, with results announced in March and June about which schools will have Specialist School status for the coming September. As a school's bid may be successful in the first round or deferred for several years it was not possible to replace the second case study school with an aspirant school guaranteed to be designated during the course of the research.

It has now become clear that the necessity for a true chronological 'before and after' is questionable. Experience has shown me and others responsible for overseeing a change of status, that whilst designation may take place on September 1st of a particular year, with, in most cases, only a few weeks notice, the actual establishment of the infrastructure takes many months after that, and an establishment and its staff may only start to experience their 'specialness' in the second year of designation. This has been acknowledged by the Department for Education and Skills which has removed the necessity to report on any progress in the first year of designation and has extended the first phase of designation from four to five

years. My initial worries that I needed to collect my first set of data as soon as possible after the second school's designation therefore diminished, allowing me more time for preparation.

Whilst general approach of the research - observation, change (although not initiated by the researcher), observation - may appear experimental, I make no claims that the research is within that paradigm, since the second school is in no way a 'control'. Having considered the involvement of a school not looking for designation as a means of determining whether any change in perceptions of accountabilities might occur for reasons external to specialist school status, I rejected this as it was not possible to find a school locally which ruled out completely any change of status.

Whilst the sizes of the two case study schools were different, there were similarities which I mentioned in my initial description of them, which, while being unlikely to create any strong generalisations, might point to some comparable findings which could be followed up by later large scale research, and any similarities in findings may strengthen any generalisability.

Although I realised my research question might change during the period of my research (Tizard and Hughes, 1991) – and indeed it did - initially I focused my research strategy along three lines. First, to ascertain whether perceptions of accountability relate to one's role within the school's structure, I administered a questionnaire asking staff to reflect briefly on to whom they feel themselves accountable and what form this accountability takes.

Lello (1979), undertaking a similar comparative study on a cross-section of those involved in education, opted to choose a single representative of each stratum, and extended his range outside the school to include views of local and national elements as well. It was beyond my resources to replicate that and I concentrated on the school environment alone, but seeking a wider sample at each level.

My original plan

I outline below my planned strategy and where changes were necessary (primarily in timing and size of samples) these are described from page 50 onwards.

In Case Study School 1 my intention was to pilot and issue approximately eighty questionnaires with explanatory notes (one set per fulltime teacher). Experience from my pilot research, undertaken for E835³, showed the effect of recent professional development carried out by some staff on related topics within the case study schools might lead to misinterpretation of questions - the use of certain terms by visiting speakers had changed how teachers understood those terms. Particular care was paid therefore to reviewing how the key terminology of my research was defined within each establishment, and the wording of my research tools was revised to take account of this.

I anticipated that analysis of the questionnaires might identify if there were any differences of perceptions of accountability within certain groups in the school. These groups represent the hierarchical strata of the school - classroom teacher, middle managers, senior leaders - and also groups representing teachers of varying experience. In this respect I adopted a stratified sampling approach (Cohen and Manion, 1994).

Second, I intended to follow up these findings by interviewing a sample of colleagues from each group, in the case of School 1 eighteen months (April 2004), and in School 2 twelve months (September 2004) after the change of status. This would be repeated with a modified questionnaire in the case of School 1 thirty months (April 2005) and in School 2 twenty-four months (September 2005) after the change of status. Whilst aiming for "intentional, systematic and theoretically guided sampling", some "groups" might only be one individual, for example "headteacher", and even where groups were larger, time constraints for the interviews and their transcription, limit samples to only two or three per group, depending on the total number of groups identified. Questionnaires would provide personal data, such as teaching experience, role and subject, to facilitate as representative a sample as might be possible from such small groups, subject to respondents' co-

operation. This would allow for analysis by experience and role, and also indicate how many of each group should be interviewed to get a balanced set of data. In total I expected a maximum of 15 interviewees from the two case study schools. In an attempt at "naturalistic" sampling (Ball, 1993), I intended to carry out these interviews in consistent surroundings within each establishment. In School 1 all first survey interviews would take place during the second year of specialist status. Most of the interviews would be carried out in the summer term, when pressure on classroom teachers had reduced, but starting at the end of April rather than the end of the examination season to allow a contingency period for unforeseen delays, and to provide a better comparison with the second series of interviews. In School 2 interviews would need to take place during the Autumn term as this appeared to be the most likely period when both I and the staff in School 2 would have time available. In reality events forced changes to these timings as described on pages 50 and 51. A time-line of both planned and actual activities appears on page 50.

My taped interviews would be semi-structured, using the results of a questionnaire developed during the pilot project as a stimulus to discussion and to help produce an interview schedule. This would prove useful for developing the themes of the original survey questionnaire and exploring the theme of why and to whom interviewees feel accountable, which would allow me to probe concepts identified in my reading. In conducting these interviews I would take careful account of Wragg's (1984) list of possible biases which might influence results. Of these the most likely was that of respondent bias - answering according to the school's policy line rather than expressing their own views. It would be incumbent on me to stress the confidentiality of their views. Interviews would be conducted individually rather than in groups to allow a frank response. It also allowed for a more flexible timetabling of interviews. Interviews in my own school would take place in my office, which provided both comfort and privacy. In the second case study school I would negotiate the use of a private space to carry out my interviews. I would try to restrict each interview to one hour as this allowed interviews to take place during a member of staff's non-contact time if she/he wished, and provided the interviewee with an idea of the time commitment when agreeing to be interviewed. Towards the end of each

session I would give the interviewees a chance to ask any questions they may have. With the agreement of the interviewee I would tape interviews and also take notes. In recognition of the time-consuming nature of full transcription of tapes (Tizard and Hughes, 1991) I would summarise the interviews, identifying the main issues, and would give copies to interviewees for verification. If time allowed the second series of interviews would explore how the change of status has affected teachers, whether their sense of accountability had changed, when, how and why this had arisen. The interviews would be carried out under similar conditions to the first series. As there would be a year between the schools' change of status I could develop both initial and subsequent interviews at the School 2 in the light of findings at School 1. This would provide an opportunity for unexpected ideas to be addressed.

Initial analysis of the data from questionnaires would look for similarities and differences to determine groupings for the interview stage, although this may be of a broad nature as shown in the pilot. Although initial thematic analysis of these and the interview data would bear in mind Becher's conceptualisation of accountability, I would adopt a semi-inductive approach, looking for other emergent themes or unusual responses. Questionnaires and transcripts would be coded and a database kept of where the themes occur. Finally interview data would be analysed against the expectations laid out in the specialist school documentation to determine whether those expectations are being met.

Ethical issues

An ethical approach is important to any piece of research. Bassey (1999) outlines four areas to which a researcher should pay respect - respect for person, respect for the truth, respect for democratic values and respect for the ethical research process. I deal in detail with how these were addressed when I describe my research tools, but briefly discuss here the ethical concerns I saw arising from my research.

Being a researcher partly in my own place of work raises concerns particularly regarding respect for people. There is initially the problem of consent on the part of the respondents. Berger and Patchner (1994) discuss

the question of informed consent. The teachers I surveyed and interviewed were competent to answer what they were asked in that questions related only to their direct experience, and I used an introductory letter to provide adequate information to allow them to understand the context of the research. That the respondents' consent was voluntary was something which I ensured. There may have been feelings of obligation to participate in the research, as respondents were my colleagues and in some cases accountable to me within the school's hierarchy. To do this I spent time explaining the voluntary nature of colleagues' participation to ensure that respondents (and I myself) realised that the researcher-respondent relationship was different to the usual ones of teacher-teacher or teacher-manager.

Confidentiality and how findings are disseminated can be difficult to reconcile. Respondents were guaranteed anonymity through the coding of survey responses and the omission of an individual's names in records of interviews. However, in order to ensure access to the case study schools it was necessary to share findings with the management of both schools, and it might have been easy to distinguish individual members of staff and their views from a description of them or their role. (This was recognised by one respondent who added a comment to the questionnaire that identification of its author would be obvious from the responsibilities described.) Where I feared such might be the case, I had to balance a respect for the truth with an obligation to protect respondents from possible professional harm. If appropriate I would discuss such references with the respondent before disseminating findings, and if they were unhappy that they might be identified, I would be less specific in my description or I omit the reference completely. This did not prove to be necessary in either school.

Pilot of the research tools

In constructing my research tools I drew on advice from Youngman (1984; 1994), Cohen and Manion (1994), Wragg (1984) and on the experience of a small-scale initial pilot of the survey instrument undertaken as part of the Open University course E835 in 2002.

For the pilot of my questionnaire the sample of staff I surveyed was a non-probability sample of nine colleagues from Case Study School 1. The resources of time and finance available to me did not allow me to reach a population large enough to use systematic or cluster samples. My sample was a convenience sample and I recognised, as previously stated, that this would reflect on the generalisability of any findings. When choosing a sample of those surveyed for interview I attempted to draw a sample to obtain a representation of the various layers within the schools' population, but also colleagues who would be frank in expressing opinions on the research tool.

To describe the context of my research and to help explain some of the terminology I used, I included a covering letter to possible respondents. In later drafts of my questionnaire I reiterated explanations and definitions on the questionnaire itself to aid respondents.

My questionnaire was constructed to encourage maximum response. Appearance is important to potential respondents. I therefore ensured in my prototype (Appendix 1) that questions were well-spaced, that instructions were distinct from questions, that there was consistent positioning and a legible typeface. I kept size to four sides of A4, sacrificing some information which might only be of possible value (and which could be followed up at interview if necessary) for a manageable questionnaire which should not appear so long as to deter respondents from starting it.

The questionnaire deliberately started with autobiographical detail as this was relatively easy for a respondent to complete, and experience showed that once started a questionnaire was more likely to be completed. Initially this section was followed by an open section requesting respondents to indicate to whom they felt accountable (Appendix 1), which would then be analysed against a pre-conceived but not definitive list of possible individuals/groups (Appendix 2). This proved too simplistic and, although it produced a one hundred per cent response rate, produced few examples of individuals/groups to whom staff felt accountable. This led to a revised instrument with a selection of groups/individuals provided for consideration

(Appendix 3). This produced a wider range of responses and represented all that was possible within the time-scale of the E835 pilot.

One revision to the questionnaire was that respondents were asked to indicate approximate length of teaching experience in blocks of 5 years. The use of 0-5, 5-10, 10-15, 15-20 and 20+ creates a possible problem where a respondent falls on the boundaries of two groups (for example with exactly five years experience). In actual fact no respondents in any of the surveys expressed any problem categorising themselves at the time of the survey or when I went back to discuss this issue with them later.

Within the context of this research, and in the light of my literature review I added to Section 2 the possibility of showing the extent to which one feels accountable (Appendix 4). For the purposes of analysis, it was my intention that any group not ticked would be counted as if the 'Not At All' box had been ticked, but on reflection I felt that as I did not know why a box had been missed, this was an unreasonable assumption. I therefore ignored any unticked boxes. The boxes indicating whether respondents would be willing to be interviewed were also removed - this allowed me to approach any respondent whose views I felt to be worth developing, and still allowed respondents the opportunity to say no at that point.

Recognising that the questionnaires could provide more information, and that they included no differentiation of the definition of accountability, I then included within the response grid the opportunity for respondents to indicate which of Becher's types of accountability applied to each individual and group. This potentially provided me with a greater bank of data on the balance between moral, professional and contractual accountabilities than would be provided from interviews alone. I also differentiated between three aspects of a teacher's work - her/his own teaching, the learning of her/his pupils, and those duties which apply in addition to actual teaching. This also necessitated an explanation of my terminology (Appendix 5).

My final revision before piloting my new questionnaire involved a rationalisation of Section 1 (the personal details section) removing any job titles specific to my own school and replacing them with more generic titles,

thus making the questionnaire usable in the second case study school without revision. In Section 2, after some soul-searching about the extent to which I might be leading respondents, I included business sponsors amongst the list of possible groups to whom one could be accountable. The layout of Section 2 was revised to allow its photo-expansion to cover two sides of A4 paper, and my definitions of moral, professional and contractual accountability were moved to these inner pages to facilitate completion of the grid. Finally a third section was added to ascertain which groups/individuals respondents felt should be accountable to them. This additional information would allow a triangulation of lines of accountability within each school and provide a more fruitful opening topic for discussion in interviews, since it involved interviewees talking about any potential flaws in the school's organisation rather than making them feel guilty for not being more accountable themselves. Appendix 6 shows the pages of the questionnaire for the pilot.

The survey was distributed personally via teachers' pigeon-holes in named envelopes containing a questionnaire, covering letter and self-addressed envelope. The questionnaires were coded to allow follow-up both for non-response and for possible future interview. The only list of respondents' names against code numbers was in my possession and was kept under lock with completed responses, away from the school site. The coding was explained to possible respondents in the letter which accompanied the questionnaire. A return date and instructions for return were indicated on the questionnaire and a reminder would be sent out.

Trial of the pilot questionnaire

A group of nine questionnaires was piloted in the first case study school in December 2003 with a sample of teachers, chosen as described below. The aim of the distribution was to pilot the research tool to assess how easily it could be completed by respondents, the quality of data it would collect and how easily these data could be analysed.

As a sample group colleagues were chosen who were felt to be most likely to find time to attempt the questionnaire at a busy end of term, and who would feel comfortable providing a critique of the questionnaire itself. As

such these nine colleagues did not represent a cross-section of the staff as a whole.

Envelopes were distributed personally containing a questionnaire, a covering letter, an envelope addressed to the researcher for the return of the questionnaire, and a sheet inviting comments about the clarity and user-friendliness of the questionnaire. This latter sheet was to provide an opportunity for respondents to feed back criticisms if time did not allow for a face-to-face discussion. A tenth questionnaire was to be distributed but the colleague whom I intended to approach was absent.

Respondents were given one week to return questionnaires and at the end of that period a short reminder was placed in pigeon-holes requesting the return of the completed questionnaires before the end of term. Replacement questionnaires were not offered as I considered it unreasonable to expect respondents to complete another questionnaire in the short time remaining before Christmas.

Of the nine questionnaires issued, seven were returned completed and an eighth was returned in person uncompleted by the respondent who passed on his views of the research tool. The ninth questionnaire was not returned before the end of term and has not been included in this report.

Comments about the pilot research tool

Two respondents provided written critiques of the research tool and one (the returner of the uncompleted questionnaire) provided oral comments. The first respondent commented on the need for clarification about the terms 'teaching' and 'learning'. A definition was added to the top of Section 2. The second respondent - a colleague who has experience of carrying out research herself for a higher degree - made several useful comments. She felt that in Section 2 providing five categories for the extent of how accountable respondents felt, would encourage respondents just to opt for the middle column. This comment was not confirmed by the returned questionnaires, where the spread of ticks was across all five categories with no obvious tendency to plump for the middle. A second comment was made about expanding the space in Section 2 for how accountability is shown, even

providing a line each for 'teaching', 'learning' and 'other'. The returned questionnaires bore out this comment, as some respondents had written as small as they could to fit their answers into the available space. In the final version of the questionnaire I changed the layout of this grid, making more space for the written comments, and looked at the viability of providing separate spaces for each of the three categories.

Section 3 was commented on by both written respondents. The first commented that it was difficult to complete because it was a topic she had not previously considered. The second felt that the layout of this section was cramped. In revision I looked again at the layout of this section before issuing the questionnaires.

The colleague who returned the questionnaire uncompleted expressed no explicit views about the layout of the questionnaire, but was concerned about its topic. Very apologetically he said that he felt that the topic was 'too heavy', and that he came to school and did his job and did not really want to think about issues such as accountability. I reassured him that his comments were very useful to me and I was grateful for his frankness. It was my intention to find time to discuss this topic with him again if he was agreeable, perhaps at a less stressful time of year. His response did, however, indicate that there might be a need to rephrase the covering letter, yet any down-playing of the importance of the topic might discourage others from taking the survey seriously. I was aware that amongst those to whom questionnaires was issued, the view of this particular respondent might well reoccur with others, and it was important that I was able to collect these views to judge how prevalent they are. To do this I included amongst my interviewees some non-respondents where they were agreeable.

Responses from the pilot

Profile of the 7 respondents (Tables 3.1- 3.4).

Gender

Male	5
Female	2

Table 3.1 Gender of pilot respondents

Teaching experience

0-5 years	1
5-10 years	2
10-15 years	0
15-20 years	0
20+ years	4

Table 3.2 Teaching experience of pilot respondents

Role in school

Classroom Teacher	4
Middle Manager	3

Table 3.3 Role in school of pilot respondents

Teaching subjects

Mathematics	3
Modern Languages	4

Table 3.4 Teaching subjects of pilot respondents

I analysed the findings of Section 2 of the surveys in several fashions in order to find out how useful the data obtained is.

A scrutiny of individual questionnaires showed that some respondents had a predominant feeling of professional accountability, with in one case no feeling of any contractual accountability to any of the individuals or groups listed in Section 2. Very few respondents felt any accountability to business sponsors, and those which did had direct contact with such individuals as part of their role in the school.

By combining all responses on a single sheet I was able to identify 'hot spots' where there are commonalties of feeling. There is a predominant feeling of being always accountable to pupils for all aspects of the respondents' work, and this was closely followed by a high feeling of accountability to parents for one's teaching and pupils' learning (but less so for other types of work).

In the open response parts of Section 2 and 3 I looked for common themes or concerns. One theme common to all respondents in Section 3 was that pupils are accountable to teachers for their effort and behaviour. Other issues emerging from several respondents which demanded pursuit at interview included the feeling that headteachers should be accountable to their staff and should involve them more in decision-making. Similarly several respondents expressed a feeling that both Local Education Authorities and the Department for Education and Skills should be more accountable to teachers by explaining the rationale for changes imposed on teachers.

The fourth method of analysis I employed was to transfer the response grids to acetate sheets (Appendix 8) which I overlay according to various categories, for example those staff with more than 20 years' teaching experience, or those who are middle managers. This enabled me to look for trends within groups. The nature of this sample did not reveal much, apart from a slightly higher number of 'accountable to' groups amongst the most experienced teachers.

The above findings are not expressed as any claim, since in many cases they represent the feelings of only two or three individuals. They do, however, show that the data collected by this research too were sufficient to progress my research and are available in a way which facilitates analysis.

Conclusions from the pilot

My pilot of the questionnaire highlighted changes which would improve its clarity, such as additional definitions of terminology (see First Survey Questionnaire in Appendix 7). Consequently Section 2 was photo-expanded to make more space for open responses. The quantity and type of data provided by the questionnaire appeared appropriate for the demands of the research project. The questionnaire also provided a good basis for in-depth interviews, particularly in the fields of professional and contractual accountability, and where one ended and the other started.

In addition to the revised research tools from my pilot study, I also became

aware of the need for coping with the problem of non-respondents. As shown in my pilot study those who fail to respond might have important views on accountability which should be included in the findings of the research project. Within Case Study School 1 I was able to ask colleagues who have not responded for their reasons, although I realised that it was unethical to use my school position to force responses from those who had chosen not to respond.

Modifications to the planned methodology

Between the establishment of my methodological plans and their implementation, several factors intervened which necessitated modifications (Table 3.5).

		Planned	Actual
2003	November		
	December	Pilot questionnaire	Pilot questionnaire
2004	January	Questionnaire 1 – CSS1	
	February		
	March	Interview 1 – CSS1	
	April		
	May		
	June		Questionnaire 1 – CSS1
	July	Questionnaire 1 – CSS2	
	August		
	September	Interview 1 – CSS2	Questionnaire 1 – CSS2
	October		
	November		
	December		
2005	January		
	February	Questionnaire 2 – CSS1	
	March	Interview 2 – CSS1	Pilot Interview
	April		
	May		
	June		Interview – CSS1 / CSS2
	July	Questionnaire 2 – CSS2	
	August		
	September	Interview 2 – CSS2	
	October		
	November		Questionnaire 2 – CSS1
	December		Questionnaire 2 – CSS2
2006	January		

CSS1 = Case Study School 1

Table 3.5 Time-line of planned and actual data gathering

Although both case study schools had been chosen for their ease of access, this was not the case when preparations came to be made for the data gathering. In both schools the headteachers had been absent during a large part of the academic year due to illness. In School 1 this brought about a

temporary change of leadership and also affected my own role, responsibilities and workload. Whilst informal approval had been granted for my research at its inception I felt it correct to apply formally to the new acting headteacher before issuing my questionnaire once it was in its final format. With the pressure on all involved (including myself) my request was not a high priority and it was June 2004 before I received written permission from the acting headteacher and chair of governors to issue the instrument to teaching staff.

In School 2 the headteacher returned at the end of the Summer term but it was only at the end of August 2004 that I was able to arrange an interview and received his approval of the revised questionnaire. I would like to stress that in both cases I attribute no criticism to the acting headteacher or either head, and acknowledge the strong support of all three at a time when it would have been easy to have brushed my research aside as being one issue too many.

Gathering of first survey questionnaire data

In Case Study School 1, 95 questionnaires were issued to teachers. Blank questionnaires, each with a unique code were placed in teachers' pigeon-holes together with a personalised explanatory letter and an envelope. I was given five minutes to explain about my research to all staff and to request their co-operation in completing the questionnaire and returning it to my box within a week. At the end of the week colleagues were reminded to return questionnaires if they wished and spare copies offered if the originals had been lost. Although I had coded the questionnaires to allow for non-respondents to be followed up, in retrospect, I considered that if my colleagues had not replied after two approaches, any further pressure to respond might be seen as abusing my senior position in the case study school and be unethical in my researcher role.

47 replies were received before the end of the Summer term. The results of these sheets were transferred to a computerised database. By using the spreadsheet facility of this database I was able to identify maximum and minimum points for the whole group of respondents in terms of the three

types of accountability and in relation to various types of stakeholder. I analysed and collated by hand the ways in which people have shown accountability to different types of stakeholder with regard to the teaching experience and role of responsibility of respondents. I also persevered with the use of response grids on acetate sheets allowing the overlay of sets of respondents according to any criteria I wanted. This method proved effective at identifying those areas which all respondents had failed to tick, but did not give any indication of the popularity of a particular response box. It was necessary therefore to return to the spreadsheet and analyse the chosen group of sheets electronically, with a printout showing the weighting of each answer within that group of respondents.

In Case Study School 2 the issue of questionnaires was delayed until the start of the Autumn term 2004. With the agreement of the headteacher I was invited to address all the teaching staff at their daily morning briefing. I explained who I was and the purpose of my research. After the briefing I placed 56 questionnaires and personalised letters in the pigeon-holes of the teachers, and two large boxes of biscuits in the staffroom kitchen. A large, fluorescent orange box was placed in the staffroom for completed questionnaires. After two weeks I returned to the school and collected the orange box. On opening it at home I found fourteen completed questionnaires. The data on these questionnaires was processed like that from the Case Study School 1 questionnaires.

First survey questionnaire sample collected

From Case Study School 1 47 completed questionnaires were returned and 14 completed questionnaires were returned from Case Study School 2 (Tables 3.6-3.9).

Gender

	Case Study School 1	Case Study School 2
Male	16	6
Female	31	8

Table 3.6 Gender of first survey respondents

Teaching experience

	Case Study School 1	Case Study School 2
0-5 years	9	6
5-10 years	15	3
10-15 years	3	1
15-20 years	1	1
20 + years	19	3

Table 3.7 Teaching experience of first survey respondents

Role in school

	Case Study School 1	Case Study School 2
Classroom Teacher	25	4
Middle Manager	11	6
Senior Middle Manager	9	0
Senior Manager	2	4

Table 3.8 Role in school of first survey respondents

Teaching subjects

	Case Study School 1	Case Study School 2
Art	3	0
Dance	0	0
Drama	1	1
English	3	1
Geography	4	0
History	3	1
ICT	1	1
Mathematics	6	2
Modern Languages	8	4
Music	2	1
Personal Social Education	2	0
Physical Education	1	0
Religious Education	3	0
Science	3	3
Special Needs	1	0
Technology	6	0

Table 3.9 Teaching subjects of first survey respondents

The definitions of senior leader, senior middle leader, middle leader and classroom teacher arose from discussions with those colleagues who piloted my questionnaire. It was clear that across more than one institution the meaning of similar role titles would vary. I therefore decided to group the role descriptions provided by respondents on the questionnaire in the following way to aid analysis. Senior middle leaders included heads of large subject areas, collections of subject areas or heads of year groups; middle leaders were heads of smaller subject areas or deputy leaders of large subject areas; and, although all but one of the respondents had a teaching commitment, classroom teachers were those who received no financial reward for any specific extra responsibility.

First survey interview

Following the above initial analysis of the questionnaire I identified specific groups which I felt worth pursuing in detail at an interview stage. I determined that two groups which were to be a priority would be a group representing a range of teaching experience and a group representing a range of roles within the school hierarchy. If possible I would also look for a representative spread of interviewees by gender and by subject.

An interview schedule was constructed in February 2005, drawing on my findings from my initial analysis of the questionnaires and from my developing thinking on the topic of teachers' perceptions of accountability.

The interview schedule was trialled in March 2005 with two volunteers. Although I anticipated only summarising the recorded interviews in recognition of the comments of Tizard and Hughes (1991) on the time-consuming nature of full transcription, I did transcribe in full the two pilot interviews, and all subsequent ones to aid their analysis.

A detailed interview schedule can be found in Appendix 9.

In School 1 the headteacher's illness continued into the next academic year and the workload of the senior team was increased further by the notification that we would be subject to an imminent Ofsted inspection.

The awaited Ofsted inspection was to be a pilot of the new format where the school maintains a current self-evaluation report which forms the basis for the inspection which then takes place with little notice (a telephone call on Wednesday followed by the arrival of the inspection team on the following Monday). When in January 2005 we were informed our pilot would be sometime in the Spring term, it was necessary to ensure that the required report was updated on a weekly basis - a not insubstantial task for a large number of the staff. Unfortunately when Easter arrived and we had still had no telephone call and when Ofsted was rung by the school, apologies were received followed by a further promise that the inspection would take place in the Summer term. The telephone call eventually came on May 11th and the team arrived on May 16th. The unexpected death of our headteacher at the end of April, followed by funeral, memorial services, and other events also proved to be an emotionally draining period for myself and my research subjects. In consequence the first survey interviews only took place in the latter part of the Summer term – several months after when they had been scheduled.

My final sample of taped interviews with staff totalled 12 interviews – 10 from Case Study School 1 and 2 (a middle manager and a classroom teacher) from Case Study School 2. The interviewees represented an opportunistic sample in that all were volunteers who were able to offer time for the interviews. I did, however, from amongst the volunteers, choose interviewees who represented the full range of seniority in the school hierarchy as described in my questionnaire, both males and females, and teachers with a varied length of teaching experience.

Four interviews were with males and eight with females, representing approximately the gender balance of respondents to the first survey questionnaire.

Three interviewees had been teaching for more than 20 years; no interviewees could be obtained in the 15-20 years of teaching group - a group which was very small in the questionnaire returns; two interviewees had been teaching for between ten and fifteen years; four interviewees had

been teaching for between five and ten years; and three interviewees were in their first five years of teaching.

Interviewees had a range of subject experience – Science, Humanities, Languages, Performing Arts and Technology.

One interviewee was a senior leader; one interviewee was a senior middle leader with responsibility for a major curriculum area; two interviewees were subject leaders (middle managers); two had specific responsibilities and six were classroom teachers.

The seniority of the interviewee was not directly linked to the length of teaching experience – whilst one of the three longest-serving interviewees was the senior leader, one was a subject leader and one a classroom teacher.

Second survey questionnaire

In my original planning it was my intention to survey teachers in the two case study schools on two occasions, with a significant period of time in between, to determine if specialist school status had affected their notions of accountability. In practice the intervening period was shorter than anticipated – seventeen months in Case Study School 1 and fourteen months in Case Study School 2. Consequently I reflected on whether the second survey was either necessary or would be productive. Eventually I decided that due to the ‘before and after’ nature of my original submission the second survey could not be omitted. Omission might allow consideration of the current perceptions of accountability amongst teachers, but would not allow for any answer to my original research question. In terms of the productivity of running a second group of questionnaires I concluded that whilst any changes in perceptions might be smaller than if a longer interval had been possible, some changes might still be noticeable. Also the second survey would allow me to test some of my findings from the interviews carried out with colleagues after the first group of questionnaires.

When constructing my second questionnaire I wanted to be able to draw comparison, where appropriate, with results from the first survey

questionnaire. Staff mobility in both case study schools and the anonymous nature of the responses meant that it was not possible to compare directly questionnaires from identical respondents. Instead the general respondent information requested in section one of the questionnaire was identical to that of the first questionnaire to allow for comparison between groups of teachers with similar profiles.

The second section directly addressed my original research question, but then extended it to investigate whether other government initiatives identified in the interviews had also affected perceptions of accountability. These initiatives were felt by interviewees either to have changed how they perceived their work, or had been aimed at changing that perception. Linked to this I included a question about the respondent's feelings of professionalism. To determine this I decided upon a continuum from feelings of being a professional to feelings of being an employee. I recognise that this continuum makes assumptions that professional and employee represent two opposed poles. As I discuss in my analysis of results not all my respondents agreed with this assumption, but within the context of a discussion of moral, professional and contractual accountability I felt justified in using these two terms to represent the professional / contractual contrast.

The third section replicated a section from the first survey questionnaire, looking at possible stakeholders, levels of accountability to them and the nature of the accountability. The only difference was to include two groups of stakeholders (oneself and one's family) omitted in the first survey but identified by the interviewees. This section more than the others was included to investigate any 'before and after' effect. The results of this table in the first survey had shown that there was little difference in response to the sections on accountability for teaching, accountability for pupils' learning and accountability for other work, yet I felt that it would be unwise to compress it if comparison was to be sought with the original results.

The final section of the questionnaire explored an issue which had grown in importance during the period of my research, namely the role of business in

education. My original research question was prompted partly by the involvement of business in education as a provider of the required sponsorship for specialist school application. During the period of my research, government policy has moved towards greater business involvement and this was an issue many interviewees wanted to discuss at greater length. To test whether other teachers agree with the views expressed, I asked respondents to use a continuum to show the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with them.

My initial draft of the second survey questionnaire was piloted with a group of four teachers to test whether the questions were comprehensible and the layout of the questionnaire clear. When discussing the results of this pilot with my supervisor the structure of the phrases in section four was modified to ensure that the phrases given did not lead the respondent into answers. To do this some of the original statements were switched from negative to positive and they were arranged in an order to discourage respondents from mechanically ticking down one column. The revised version of the questionnaire is in Appendix 10.

The revised questionnaires were copied and distributed in the two case study schools. Each questionnaire was accompanied by a letter explaining the background to the questionnaire and requesting help. In both case study schools I was invited to introduce personally the questionnaire to staff at each school's morning briefing at the beginning of December 2005. In both schools the questionnaires were placed in staff pigeon-holes. Colleagues were asked to complete the questionnaire and 'post' them in boxes left in each staffroom. Over the next fortnight the number of responses in the boxes was monitored and a verbal reminder given to colleagues in general. At the end of the period the boxes were emptied and the questionnaires collated.

Second survey questionnaire sample collected

In Case Study School 1 106 questionnaires were issued, and 58 in Case Study School 2 – one for each teaching member of staff in each

establishment. Two weeks later 49 were collected from Case Study School 1 and 26 from Case Study School 2.

The respondents were in the following categories (Tables 3.10-3.13):

Gender

	Case Study School 1	Case Study School 2
Male	20	8
Female	29	18

Table 3.10 Gender of second survey respondents

Teaching experience

	Case Study School 1	Case Study School 2
0-5 years	14	13
5-10 years	9	3
10-15 years	9	0
15-20 years	0	2
20 + years	17	8

Table 3.11 Teaching experience of second survey respondents

Role in school

	Case Study School 1	Case Study School 2
Classroom Teacher	24	12
Middle Manager	11	7
Senior Middle Manager	9	3
Senior Manager	5	4

Table 3.12 Role in school of second survey respondents

Teaching subjects

	Case Study School 1	Case Study School 2
Art	1	2
Dance	0	1
Drama	0	1
English	8	5
Geography	5	2
History	2	1
ICT	0	0
Mathematics	6	3
Modern Languages	6	5
Music	1	0
Personal Social Education	1	0
Physical Education	5	0
Religious Education	3	1
Science	4	3
Special Needs	1	0
Technology	6	2

Figure 3.13 Teaching subjects of second survey respondents

The second survey questionnaires were analysed in a similar way to the first survey. Due to the lateness of the issue of the second survey questionnaires it was not feasible to follow them up with a further series of interviews. This has left some questions which need to be answered by subsequent research as I describe in my conclusions.

Response rates

In the first survey rates were 49 per cent for Case Study School 1 and 25 per cent in Case Study School 2. In the second survey rates were 46 per cent in Case Study School 1 and 45 per cent in Case Study School 2. In line with Youngman's (1984, p. 175) advice that "the follow-up response should not be left too long otherwise what little interest the correspondents had will have disappeared altogether" in the case of both questionnaires, in both schools, general reminders had been given verbally, but further follow-up was not possible because of time.

Johnson (2007) in a study of declining response rates to questionnaires describes the usual response rate to a mail survey to now be in the range 35 to 70 per cent, and for a special population mailing the rate to be between 20 per cent and 80 per cent. My responses were within this range which helped to appease my doubts, but I nevertheless needed to consider the implications of this on any findings which might come from their analysis.

Youngman (1978) discusses what could be considered low response and how to deal with the problems which arise from it:

“ A response rate under 50% must be considered on dubious validity unless representativeness can be established.
 ... the important criterion is not the response rate but response representativeness. It may be necessary to incorporate questions specifically for the purpose of checking representativeness over certain characteristics.”
 (p.26)

and

“A crude check on the representativeness of the residual sample is to examine known characteristics. These will vary with the topic under investigation, but often details of age or sex, for example are available for the main population, enabling the comparison to be made.” (p.27)

Considering the types of characteristic Youngman describes above and using the information from the replies received and from the information I had on the teaching staff in both case study schools at the times of the two surveys, I produced the following comparison (Tables 3.14-3.19):

	Case Study School 1		Case Study School 2	
	Possible cohort	Replies	Possible cohort	Replies
	%	%	%	%
Female	61	66	56	57
Male	39	34	44	43
Total	100	100	100	100
(N)	(95)	(47)	(57)	(14)

Table 3.14 Representativeness by sex – first survey

	Case Study School 1		Case Study School 2	
	Possible cohort	Replies	Possible cohort	Replies
	%	%	%	%
Senior Manager	6	4	21	29
Senior Middle Manager	16	19	2	0
Middle Manager	17	24	41	42
Classroom Teacher	61	53	36	29
Total (N)	100 (95)	100 (47)	100 (57)	100 (14)

Table 3.15 Representativeness by role in school – first survey

	Case Study School 1		Case Study School 2	
	Possible cohort	Replies	Possible cohort	Replies
	%	%	%	%
0 – 5 years	20	19	35	43
5 - 10 years	35	32	27	21.5
10 -15 years	7	6	10	7
15 - 20 years	6	2	8	7
20+ years	32	41	20	21.5
Total (N)	100 (95)	100 (47)	100 (57)	100 (14)

Table 3.16 Representativeness by teaching experience – first survey

	Case Study School 1		Case Study School 2	
	Possible cohort	Replies	Possible cohort	Replies
	%	%	%	%
Female	63	59	62	69
Male	37	41	38	31
Total (N)	100 (95)	100 (47)	100 (57)	100 (14)

Table 3.17 Representativeness by sex – second survey

	Case Study School 1		Case Study School 2	
	Possible cohort	Replies	Possible cohort	Replies
	%	%	%	%
Senior Manager	6	10	14	15
Senior Middle Manager	12	18	10	12
Middle Manager	15	23	34	27
Classroom Teacher	67	49	42	46
Total (N)	100 (95)	100 (47)	100 (57)	100 (14)

Table 3.18 Representativeness by role in school – second survey

	Case Study School 1		Case Study School 2	
	Possible cohort	Replies	Possible cohort	Replies
	%	%	%	%
0 – 5 years	26	29	36	50
5 - 10 years	33	18	26	12
10 -15 years	9	18	10	0
15 - 20 years	6	0	9	8
20+ years	26	35	19	30
Total (N)	100 (95)	100 (47)	100 (57)	100 (14)

Table 3.19 Representativeness by teaching experience – second survey

This analysis indicated that in both schools in both surveys the replies, although there were some differences, were broadly representative of the cohorts as a whole on these characteristics. Nevertheless I recognised that strong claims might not be valid from the results of any analysis, though some conclusions from that analysis could be offered.

A further limitation of the surveys was that of 'sample mortality' - the possible change in respondents between the two surveys. Looking at the responses from Case Study School 1, of the 95 teachers in the first survey cohort 14 left the school before the second survey, and 25 new teachers joined. Of the 47 respondents to the first survey, 6 were amongst the 14 leavers. Amongst the 49 respondents to the second survey, 8 had joined the school since the first survey, 18 had not replied to the first survey and only 23 had replied to both surveys. This negated to some extent my original hope of analysing changes of perception at an individual level, but each

survey does indicate the prevalent ethos amongst the teaching staff at the time and can be used to compare the perceptions of accountability of staff in post in each school at the times of the surveys.

Data analysis

In the following chapters I analyse the data produced from the two surveys and the intervening series of interviews. In line with my research questions outlined on pages 4 and 5 I firstly look at, within the limitations of sample mortality discussed above, whether becoming a specialist school has had any effect on a school's ethos of accountability. Secondly I look at to whom teachers feel accountable, who are the important stakeholders for teachers, and what is the nature of the accountability shown to each. I then look in greater detail at teachers' perceptions of the business-education relationship. I finally consider the relationship between teachers' feelings of professionalism and accountability, and whether state intervention in teaching has influenced these feelings.

Has being a specialist school effected the perceptions of accountability amongst teachers?

The aims of the specialist school movement include strengthened links to new and existing stakeholders, noticeably business and governors. This chapter will look at whether teachers' perceptions of to whom they are accountable is effected by being employed in a specialist school. Although changes in individual teachers' views are not calculable because of some sample mortality in line with the discussion in Chapter 3, it is possible to compare staff perceptions of accountability in each case study school at the time of the first and second survey.

Did teachers feel any overall difference?

Specialist school status implies the adoption of new stakeholders and should therefore have an effect on teachers' perceptions of to whom they are accountable. **This research found that, with the exception of a small group of teachers whose role had changed significantly on becoming a language college, teachers felt no difference in their accountability as a result of specialist school status.**

In the second survey questionnaire teachers in both schools were asked if being in a school with specialist school status had made a difference about to whom they felt accountable.

In Case Study School 1 five respondents had only ever worked in a specialist school, thirty-eight felt the change of status had made no difference and six felt that it had made a difference. In Case Study School 2 three respondents had only ever worked in a specialist school, twenty-two

felt that the change of status had made no difference and one felt that it had made a difference.

Amongst those who did feel that the change of status had made a difference in Case Study School 1, only one was a classroom teacher who was aware of increased funding. The other respondents were middle or senior managers. Two middle managers felt that they had an extra element of accountability to the school's management for delivering aspects of the school's specialism; one senior middle manager felt that he was now also accountable to the sponsor who provided extra funding to the school; two senior managers felt particularly accountable to the community partners identified within the school's specialist plans – local secondary and primary schools, and further afield to partner schools abroad. One of the two senior managers mentioned a feeling of accountability to the school's sponsors.

In Case Study School 2 the respondent, who had asserted that the change of status had made a difference, was a middle manager within the school's specialist subject, and felt accountable not only to the traditional head of department but also to the Specialist School Director – a post built into the school's hierarchy as a result of the move to specialist school status. The headteacher, who expressed no change in his feelings of accountability, did however express accountability to a wider community including the Specialist Schools' Trust.

Accountability to different groups of stakeholders

By plotting the sets of results from both surveys in each case study school, it was possible to produce a profile of the staff perception of accountability towards each type of stakeholder. The graphs that follow show the percentage of the respondents from each case study school in each survey who marked a particular box to indicate the frequency of accountability shown to a particular stakeholder for their teaching. An example of how one respondent's replies were analysed can be seen in Appendix 8. By comparing both sets of survey results it was also possible to determine if the dominant type of accountability – moral, professional or contractual – had

varied. A more detailed discussion of attitudes in general to each group of stakeholders follows in Chapter 5.

Pupils

Staff accountability to pupils showed the least difference in the two surveys (Figures 4.1 and 4.2). In both surveys and in both case study schools, there was a high sense of accountability, with professional accountability being very high in both surveys. Feelings of moral accountability were lower in both schools at the time of the second survey.

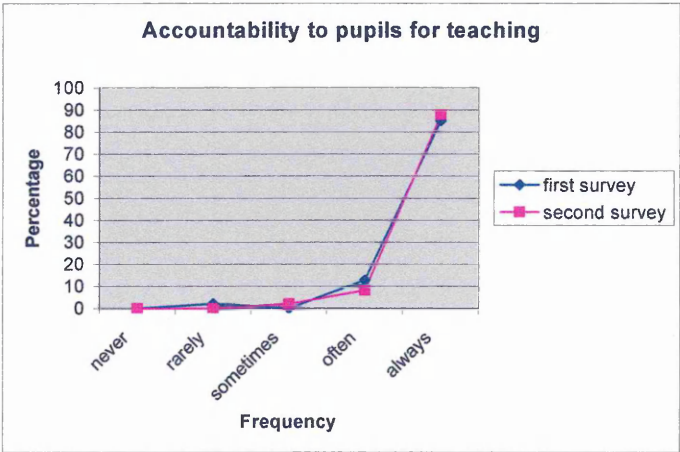


Figure 4.1 Staff accountability to pupils for teaching in both surveys in Case Study School 1

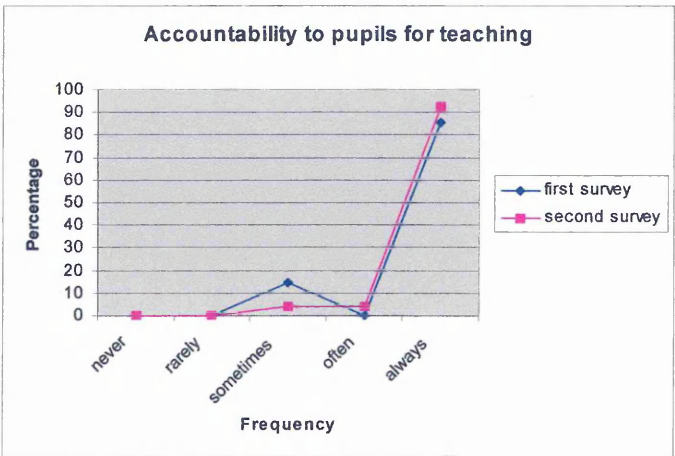


Figure 4.2 Staff accountability to pupils for teaching in both surveys in Case Study School 2

Parents

In both case study schools the second survey shows a lower sense of accountability to parents than when the first survey was carried out (Figures 4.3 and 4.4). This is particularly noticeable in Case Study School 1. In both

schools there was a strong sense of professional accountability at the time of the first survey, but this was drastically lower at the time of the second survey. Feelings of moral accountability had risen slightly but contractual accountability was also much lower.

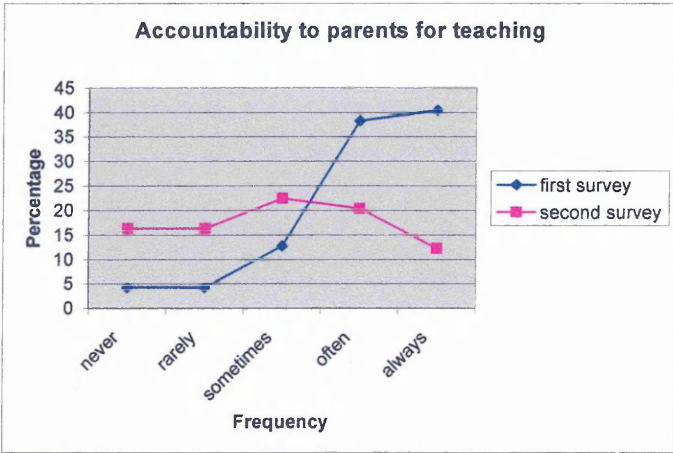


Figure 4.3 Staff accountability to parents for teaching in both surveys in Case Study School 1

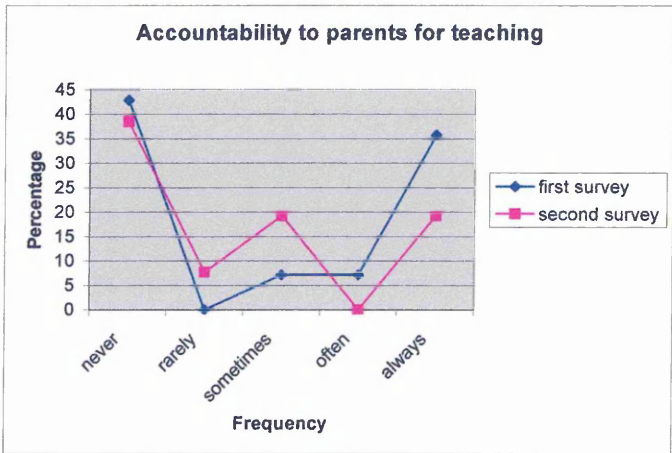


Figure 4.4 Staff accountability to parents for teaching in both surveys in Case Study School 2

Subject colleagues

In Case Study School 1 there was little difference between accountability to subject colleagues at the time of both surveys (Figures 4.5 and 4.6). At both times teachers felt very accountable to their peers. In Case Study School 2, whilst not being as close as in the other school, the profiles of the two surveys were similar with a high degree of accountability. In both surveys in both schools professional accountability was dominant.

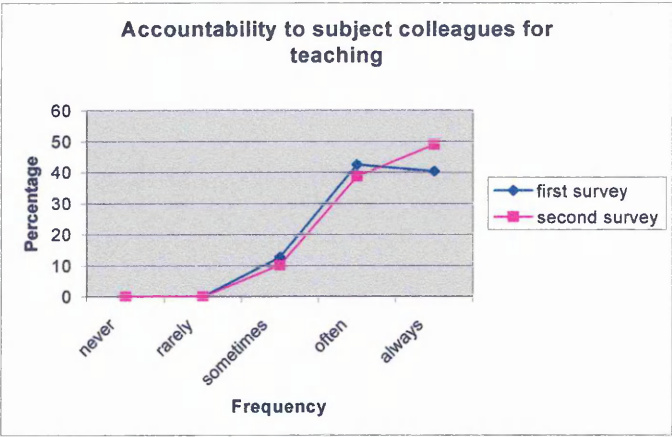


Figure 4.5 Staff accountability to subject colleagues for teaching in both surveys in Case Study School 1

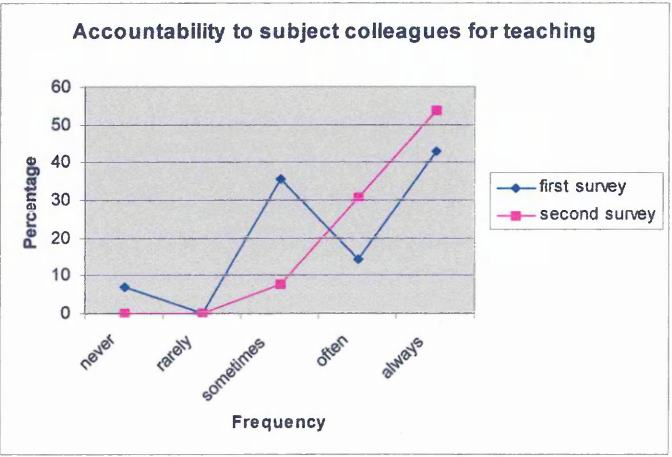


Figure 4.6 Staff accountability to subject colleagues for teaching in both surveys in Case Study School 2

Line manager

In Case Study School 1 there was little difference in the profile of accountability to line managers between the two surveys, both showing a high degree of accountability (Figure 4.7). Professional accountability was dominant in both surveys at a near equal level. In Case Study School 2 there was an increase in the number of teachers who always felt accountable to line managers (Figure 4.8). In the second survey, whilst professional accountability was still dominant, it decreased, and contractual accountability increased.

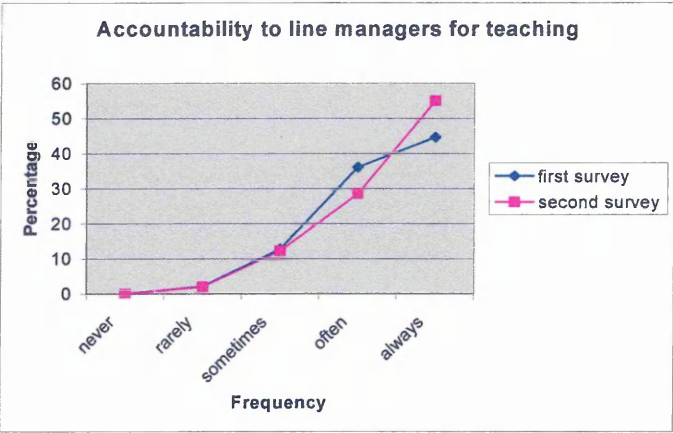


Figure 4.7 Staff accountability to line managers for teaching in both surveys in Case Study School 1

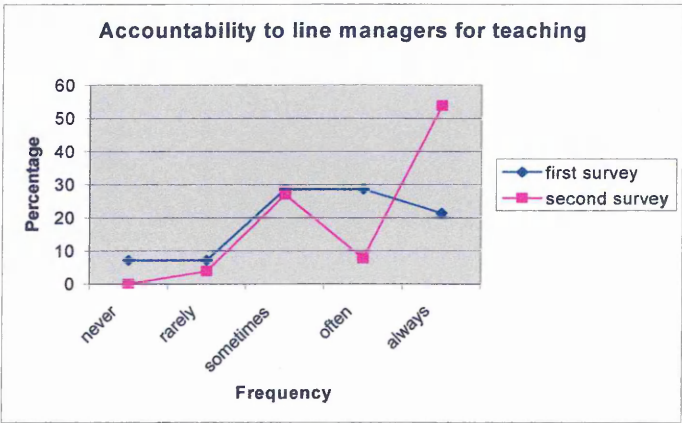


Figure 4.8 Staff accountability to line managers for teaching in both surveys in Case Study School 2

Headteachers

Accountability to headteachers was high in both surveys in both schools with a slight increase in the second survey (Figures 4.9 and 4.10). Professional accountability was dominant in both schools and both surveys. In Case Study School 1 the level of professional accountability remained constant but in Case Study School 2 there was a significant increase.

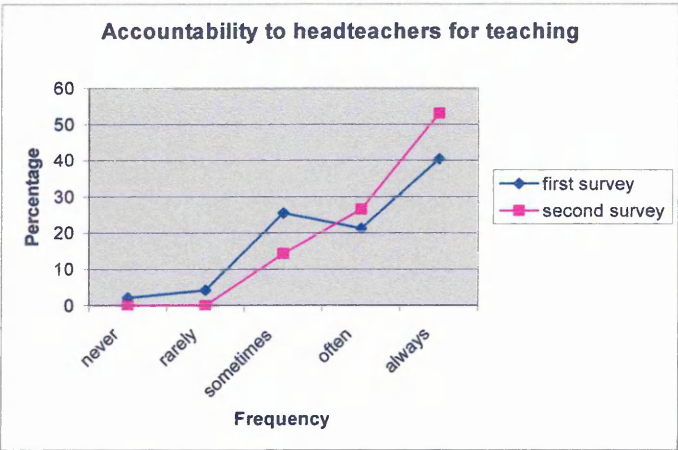


Figure 4.9 Staff accountability to headteachers for teaching in both surveys in Case Study School 1

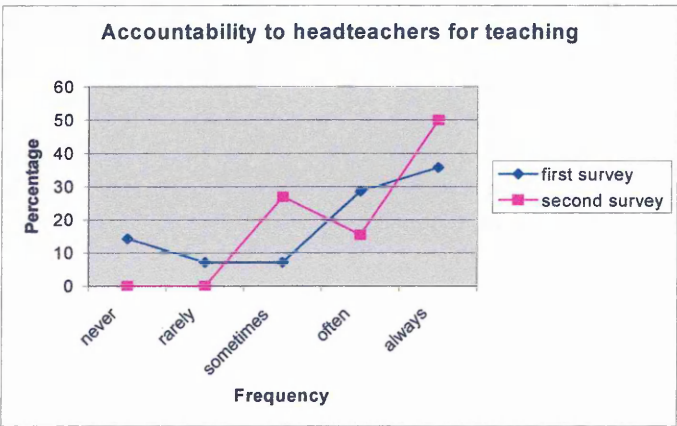


Figure 4.10 Staff accountability to headteachers for teaching in both surveys in Case Study School 2

All colleagues

In Case Study School 1 there was little change between the two surveys (Figure 4.11). Accountability was felt sometimes rather than constantly. In Case Study School 2 at the time of the second survey accountability to all colleagues was of a more spasmodic nature (Figure 4.12), more in line with the profile for Case Study School 1. In Case Study School 1 the dominant accountability was professional in both surveys. In Case Study School 2 moral accountability was greatest in the first survey but in the second survey professional accountability was dominant.

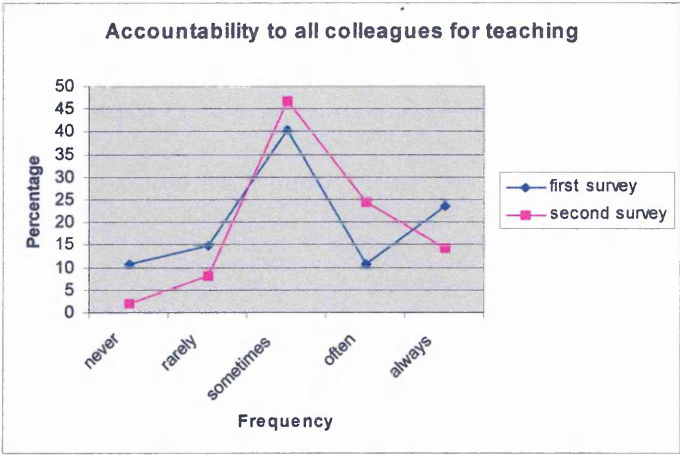


Figure 4.11 Staff accountability to all colleagues for teaching in both surveys in Case Study School 1

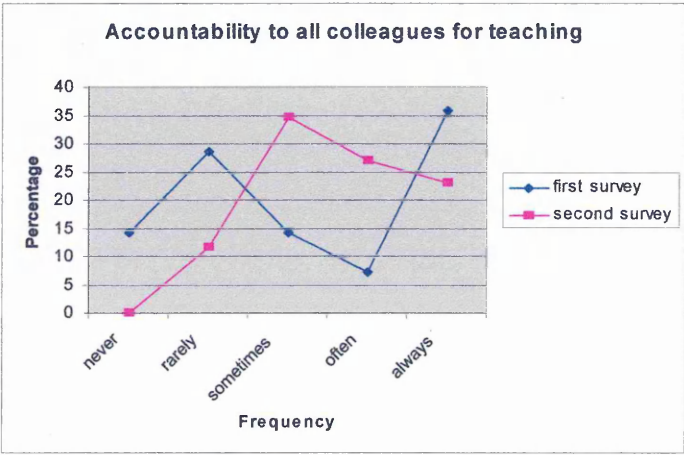


Figure 4.12 Staff accountability to all colleagues for teaching in both surveys in Case Study School 2

Governors

In Case Study School 1 accountability to governors was occasional and this varied little between the two surveys (Figure 4.13). In Case Study School 2 greater accountability to governors was felt with a high level of respondents feeling always accountable. This was the case in both surveys (Figure 4.14). In Case Study School 1 professional and contractual accountability were equally dominant in the first survey. In the second survey professional accountability was weaker and contractual accountability stronger. In the Case Study School 2 first survey, professional and contractual accountability were both dominant but in the second survey both increased equally.

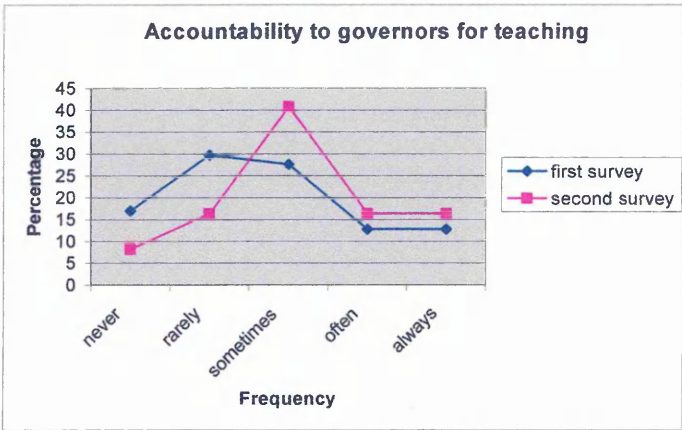


Figure 4.13 Staff accountability to governors for teaching in both surveys in Case Study School 1

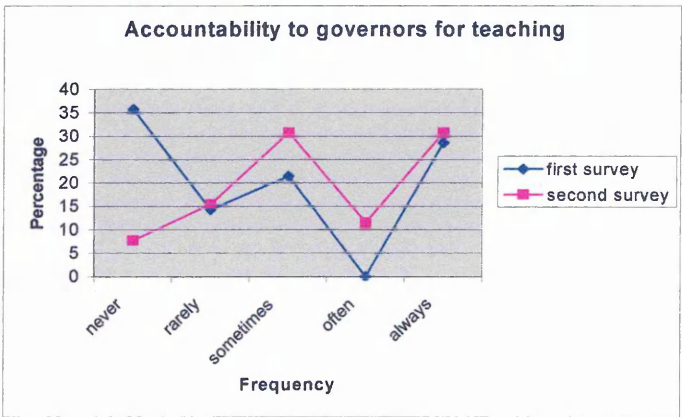


Figure 4.14 Staff accountability to governors for teaching in both surveys in Case Study School 2

Local Education Authority

In both schools in both surveys accountability was low to the local authority (Figures 4.15 and 4.16) and any accountability felt was contractual.

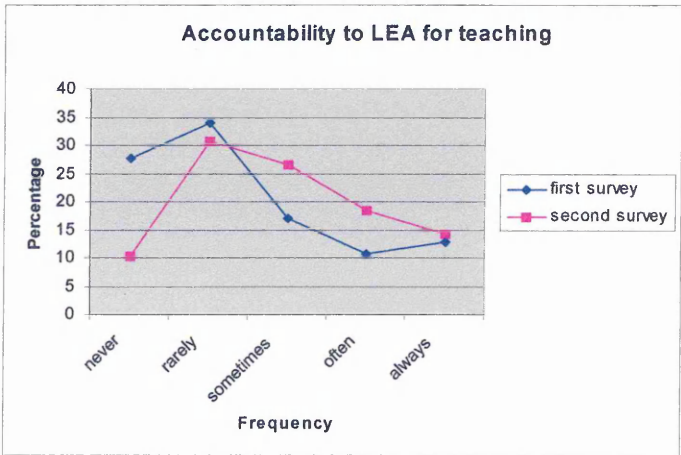


Figure 4.15 Staff accountability to LEA for teaching in both surveys in Case Study School 1

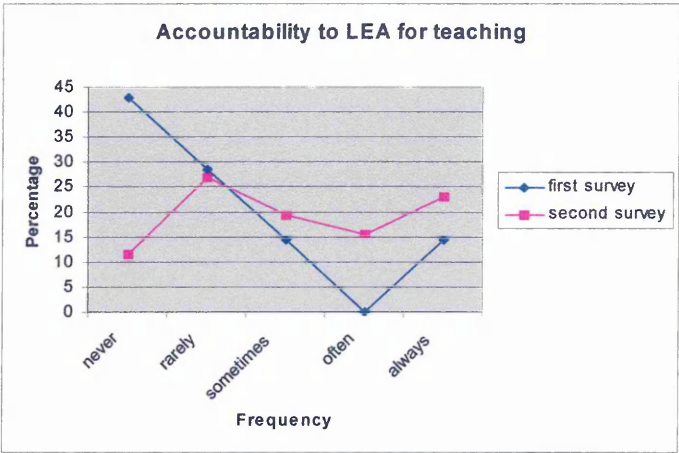


Figure 4.16 Staff accountability to LEA for teaching in both surveys in Case Study School 2

Department for Education and Skills

In both schools accountability to the DfES was low in both surveys, although there was a rise in those who felt occasionally (i.e. ‘rarely’ and ‘sometimes’) accountable (Figures 4.17 and 4.18). Accountability was predominantly contractual in both schools in the first survey and remained so in the second survey, despite a slight reduction in Case Study School 2.

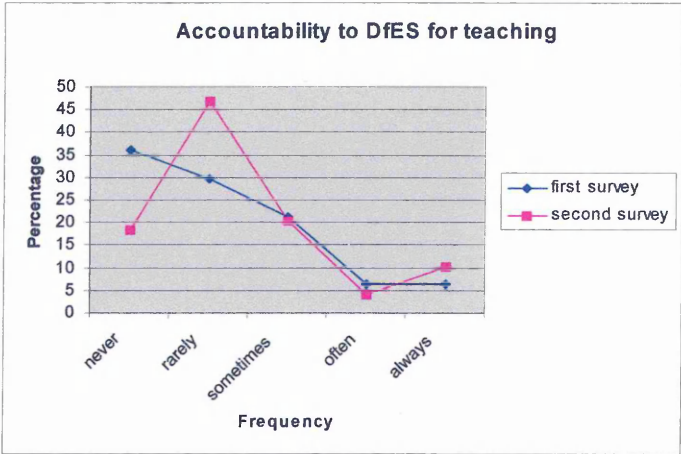


Figure 4.17 Staff accountability to DfES for teaching in both surveys in Case Study School 1

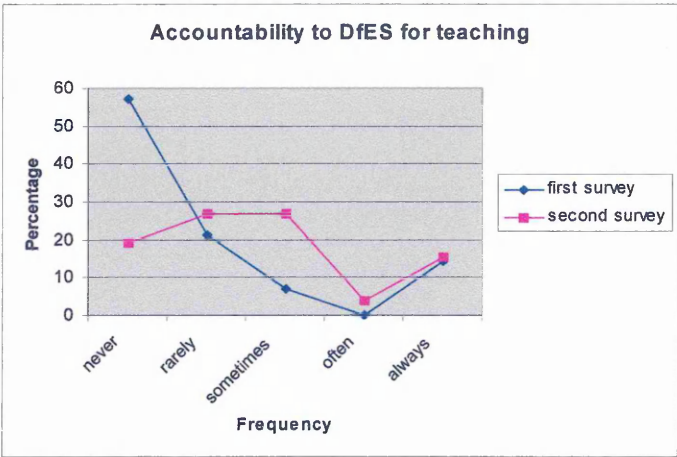


Figure 4.18 Staff accountability to DfES for teaching in both surveys in Case Study School 2

Local community

In Case Study School 1 staff expressed a strong sense of occasional accountability to the local community in both surveys (Figure 4.19). In Case Study School 2 accountability was low in the first survey but was more like Case Study School 1 in the second survey (Figure 4.20). The predominant accountability in both schools in the first survey was moral, but in the second survey this had moved to professional accountability.

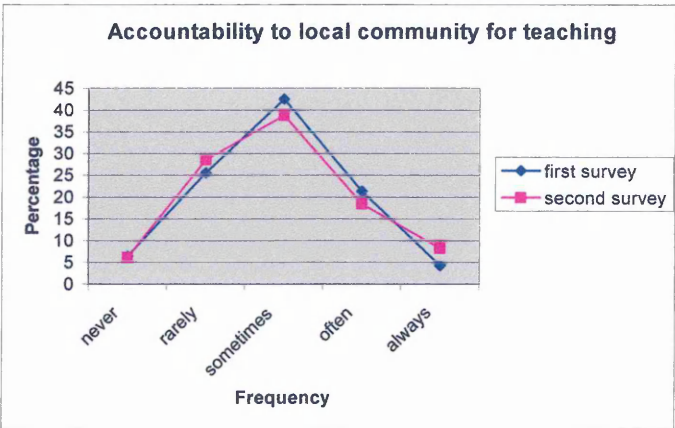


Figure 4.19 Staff accountability to local community for teaching in both surveys in Case Study School 1

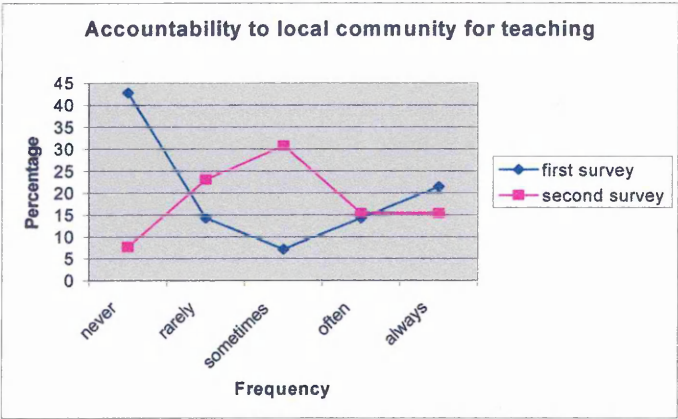


Figure 4.20 Staff accountability to local community for teaching in both surveys in Case Study School 2

Business sponsors

In Case Study School 1 and Case Study School 2 accountability to business sponsors was low in both surveys (Figures 4.21 and 4.22). In the first survey the predominant accountability was professional and in Case Study School 2 moral. In the second survey professional and moral accountability had decreased and contractual increased.

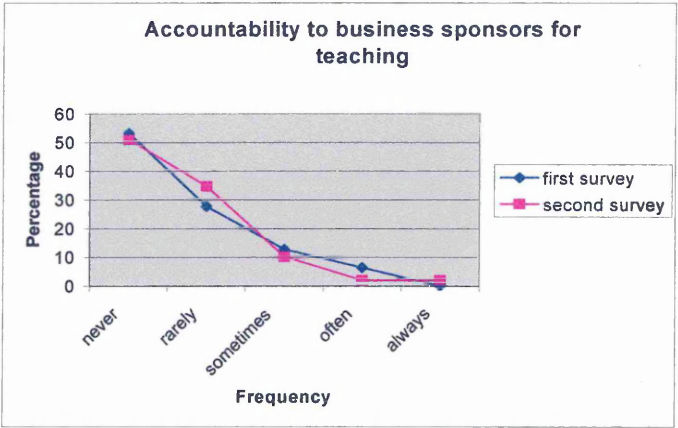


Figure 4.21 Staff accountability to business sponsors for teaching in both surveys in Case Study School 1

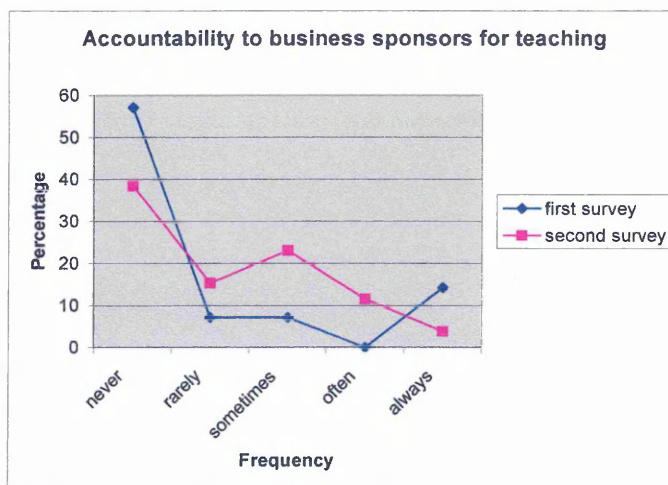


Figure 4.22 Staff accountability to business sponsors for teaching in both surveys in Case Study School 2

Conclusions

There was little difference in feelings of accountability between the two surveys to subject colleagues and headteachers – both remained high and of a professional nature. In the same way there was little difference in feelings of accountability to the local authority and Department for Education and Skills – both low and contractual; and accountability to all colleagues remained unchanged at occasional and professional.

Accountability to pupils, whilst remaining high in both schools at both surveys, showed a decline in feelings of moral accountability. Possible reasons for this are discussed in the next chapter where attitudes to individual types of stakeholder are looked at in greater detail.

The most noticeable difference in feelings to a particular group of stakeholders between the two surveys, is the decline in accountability to parents, particularly shown in Case Study School 1. This was accompanied by a drop in feelings of professional accountability to parents. Suggestions as to why this should be the case are raised in the Chapters 5 and 7.

In assessing the success of creating a specialist school ethos, I looked at the three stakeholder groups, which are mentioned explicitly in the specialist school aims and guidance – governors, the local community and business sponsors.

The staff in the two case study schools did not feel any more accountable to governors at the time of the second survey than they had at the time of the first survey. There is a significant difference in the level of accountability felt to governors by the staffs of both schools, with that of Case Study School 2 feeling the more accountable. This may well be due to the size of Case Study School 2 as compared with the much larger Case Study School 1. In Chapter 5 interviewees of Case Study School 1 comment on the rarity of seeing a governor and attribute a lack of accountability to this. In a smaller school it may be expected that governors are more likely to be seen by teachers, but further research would be necessary to prove this.

The staff in Case Study School 2 expressed a stronger feeling of accountability to the local community in the second survey. The necessity of implementing a Community Plan on accepting specialist school status may have raised awareness of working with the local community in this school which had had a much smaller community programme prior to changing status. In Case Study School 1 the level of accountability was high in both surveys, reflecting its extensive community programme even before becoming a specialist school.

The staff in both schools showed no greater accountability to business sponsors in the second survey than had been shown in the first survey. Feelings of accountability remained the lowest expressed for any of the groups of stakeholders.

In summary my findings indicate that in these two schools, having specialist status has only had an effect on attitudes to the local community where links were not strong beforehand. Stronger accountability to governors or business sponsors has not been achieved.

How accountable do teachers feel to different stakeholders?

At the heart of my research on accountability are the school's stakeholders, and an examination of which are the most dominant in influencing teachers' actions. My original range of stakeholders arose from Lello (1979) and my reading on accountability. This identified the main stakeholders within the school's hierarchy – head of department, deputy headteacher, headteacher and governors; professional stakeholders – departmental colleagues and other teachers in the school; the school's clients – pupils and parents; and the external governance of the school – the Local Education Authority and the Department for Education and Skills. To these I added business sponsors and the local community as these seemed possibilities for the two case study schools. Such specialist schools have a commitment, for which they receive finance, to develop their specialism in the local community and surrounding schools, and have to raise fifty thousand pounds of business sponsorship during the application process. Following the pilot of my first survey I added 'society' to my list of stakeholders, but later withdrew it before the second survey as there was little response to it in the full first survey. Two further stakeholders were identified from the first survey and the interviews. These were the teacher herself/himself and the teacher's family. I will deal with each of these stakeholders, in the order they appeared on the second survey, considering any findings from the first survey, the interviews and the second survey. I have restricted my tables to findings from the second survey alone for conciseness and as these results represent the most current findings. Where there was a noticeable difference between the first and second surveys, I deal with this in the text.

Self

Respondents expressed a deep sense of moral and professional accountability to themselves for their teaching, their pupils' learning, and the other work they do in school.

Having failed to identify ‘myself’ as a stakeholder in my first survey, the results of the interviewees and the second survey indicated that this was a serious omission. Unexpectedly three interviewees identified an accountability to themselves, and went on to explain this as a need to feel that they have done a good job.

“I think also there is an accountability to myself. I’ve got to live with myself and at the end of the day I’ve got to take my wage and feel that I’ve done my job.” (Middle Manager Int.2)

“I think first and foremost it would be either myself or the kids. I don’t plan with my department or parents in mind..... When I say accountable to myself I mean I’m always thinking ‘Is that the best I can do for the kids?’ So really I suppose that is whom, I’m accountable to.”
(Classroom Teacher Int.9)

In the following tables the numbers represent the percentage of total respondents who ticked a particular frequency box on the second questionnaire. Some respondents did not tick a box in the frequency section for some stakeholders. As ‘never’ was included as an option, I felt it wrong to assume that a failure to tick could be equated as a ‘never’ response (hence the failure of the figures to add up to one hundred percent). In the type of accountability many respondents ticked more than type. As can be seen from Table 5.1 below, there was a deep feeling of accountability to oneself for teaching, pupils’ learning and other work. The dominant forms of accountability were moral and professional, mirroring the interview comments about feeling a moral and professional pressure to do one’s best for the pupils. This may explain why accountability for teaching is highest – one’s key personal contribution to the teacher-pupil relationship, rather than pupils’ learning which can be seen as the pupils’ responsibility in the relationship, or ‘other work’ which is often for the benefit of people other than pupils.

	Teaching	Pupils' Learning	Other Work
Always	83	78	64
Often	12	14	17
Sometimes	3	3	7
Rarely	1	1	1
Never	0	0	1
Moral Accountability	73	71	65
Professional Accountability	66	68	60
Contractual Accountability	21	23	13

Table 5.1 Accountability to myself – both schools – second survey

Female respondents showed a slightly higher sense of accountability than males, and a higher sense of moral accountability, but both sexes were high (see Table 5.2).

When analysed by role, accountability remained high across all four categories – classroom teacher, middle manager, senior middle manager and senior manager – with the emphasis on teaching. The exception was amongst middle managers where there was the highest accountability for pupils' learning. When taking the 'Always' and 'Often' categories together, this anomaly disappeared.

	Teaching		Pupils' Learning		Other Work	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Always	75	87	61	85	50	72
Often	14	9	18	13	18	15
Sometimes	0	4	7	0	14	2
Rarely	4	0	4	0	4	0
Never	0	0	0	0	0	2
Moral Accountability	68	74	47	83	57	71
Professional Accountability	57	72	68	68	54	62
Contractual Accountability	14	26	18	26	11	15

Table 5.2 Accountability to myself – all respondents by gender– second survey

Analysed by teaching experience the pattern of results was the same as previously described for all respondents with the exception of the 15-20 years of experience group. This group however only included two respondents in total from both schools – one felt 'always' accountable to self and the other 'sometimes'. In terms of type of accountability moral and professional were dominant, but there was a variation between groups in

which came first and second. Those in the 0-5, 10-15 and 20+ groups felt more moral than professional accountability, whilst professional accountability was most important for the 5-10 and 15-20 groups.

The sense of guilt expressed in several interviews highlights the moral and professional accountability experienced by teachers although it could be argued that it is accountability to the pupil which leaves them dissatisfied if they feel they have underachieved.

Family

Accountability felt by all respondents to one’s family was low for teaching, learning and other work. Any accountability felt was moral.

	Teaching	Pupils’ Learning	Other Work
Always	13	7	9
Often	11	3	12
Sometimes	28	20	21
Rarely	20	19	16
Never	21	41	26
Moral Accountability	48	40	53
Professional Accountability	14	13	13
Contractual Accountability	8	3	3

Table 5.3 Accountability to my family – both schools – second survey

There was little difference in the level of accountability according to gender (Table 5.4).

	Teaching		Pupils’ Learning		Other Work	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Always	18	8	7	7	7	11
Often	7	13	0	4	7	15
Sometimes	25	30	22	17	7	28
Rarely	22	19	11	24	22	13
Never	18	23	43	41	36	19
Moral Accountability	39	53	32	42	18	60
Professional Accountability	25	8	14	13	18	10
Contractual Accountability	11	4	4	2	4	2

Table 5.4 Accountability to my family – all respondents by gender– second survey

Senior middle managers felt the most accountability and senior managers considered their families the least often.

Analysed by experience those with 0-5 years of experience felt least accountability to family, perhaps because, as predominantly the youngest group, they have fewer families to be accountable to. The most accountable group were those with 10-15 years of experience, perhaps as they have the most demanding age families, though I did not collect either ages or family details on my questionnaires.

One interpretation of these findings may be that the sense of professionalism and commitment to one's work is often at the expense of one's home and family life.

Pupils

Results from both groups of questionnaires and from the interviews underlined that for teachers the dominant stakeholder to whom they felt accountable was the pupil, and for professional reasons.

In the first survey in Case Study School 1, no matter what their length of teaching experience, all respondents felt always or often accountable to pupils for their teaching. This was supported by the majority of respondents in Case Study School 2, the exception being one inexperienced (0-5 years) teacher who felt accountable to pupils only sometimes.

The types of accountability felt were predominantly professional and moral in both case study schools. In Case Study School 2 there was no noticeable difference in emphasis between the professional and moral, whatever the teacher's experience. In Case Study School 1 there was a noticeable swing from professional to moral the longer the teacher's length of service.

The notions of accountability to pupils for learning matched largely those described above, with the exception of a slight move in the most experienced group from always feeling accountable to often. Feelings of accountability were predominantly professional.

All groups felt less accountable to pupils for their work other than teaching and learning, with sometimes and rarely being chosen by respondents in both schools. The predominant feeling was again professional.

Amongst the interviewees the primary accountability felt by teachers is to their pupils (8/12) and all interviewees placed pupils highly in the list of groups to whom they were accountable. In some cases the terms 'moral accountability' was explicitly mentioned and in all cases it was implicit.

"I think (*I feel accountable*) mostly to the children.

Because I am there to get them to a certain level through GCSEs and therefore that goes on to the school because the school is recognised by how many A-C passes it gets."

(Middle Manager Int.2)

"There's also moral accountability to the pupils and to the parents." (Senior Middle Manager Int.3)

"First of all I feel accountable to the kids because of the pressure of GCSEs and exams in particular. I think that you felt you should be getting them through – it's down to you in the end, doing the preparation to help them through." (Classroom Teacher Int.4)

"The children, first and foremost. I feel, it's my biggest thing. If I ever don't do anything, it's them that I feel bad towards." (Middle Manager Int.5)

"... you want the kids to enjoy themselves, that's one of the main aspects of accountability." (Middle Manager Int.6)

"In order, I think it would be pupils, then the curriculum area leader and deputy, then the head." (Classroom Teacher Int.8)

"Because I feel it is our duty to be there and to be there for them and sometimes if I have had a day off sick I feel guilty because I feel they have probably missed out on a day's lessons during which they might have gained more from ... than when a cover teacher, supervisor, whatever, has taken the lesson. I just think it's our duty to be there." (Classroom Teacher Int.10)

“I’d say to the pupils first because they deserve an education. It’s their opportunity so you can’t really afford to mess it up. Then probably the parents as much as the school and on a higher scale the whole country... government.” (Classroom Teacher Int.11)

In the second survey, a high level of accountability towards pupils for teaching was expressed by all respondents (Table 5.5). Accountability for learning was less but only because of a redistribution between the ‘always’ and ‘often’ categories. Accountability for other work was less. The dominant form of accountability in all three cases was professional with contractual coming third.

	Teaching	Pupils’ Learning	Other Work
Always	89	76	34
Often	7	15	31
Sometimes	3	4	19
Rarely	0	0	4
Never	0	0	1
Moral Accountability	55	55	56
Professional Accountability	84	74	61
Contractual Accountability	25	23	17

**Table 5.5 Accountability to my pupils – both schools
– second survey**

Females felt slightly more accountable to pupils than males but taking the ‘always’ and ‘often’ together there was no difference (Table 5.6).

	Teaching		Pupils’ Learning		Other Work	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Always	86	89	68	79	36	32
Often	7	6	14	15	29	32
Sometimes	0	4	7	2	18	17
Rarely	0	0	0	0	4	4
Never	0	0	0	0	0	2
Moral Accountability	50	55	43	60	54	57
Professional Accountability	86	83	75	74	61	60
Contractual Accountability	25	25	25	21	25	13

**Table 5.6 Accountability to my pupils – all respondents
by gender– second survey**

When analysed by role, accountability for teaching remained high in all four categories of role, with pupils' learning less and other work least. Whilst teaching was predominantly 'always', a similar total showed for learning when 'always' and 'often' were added, and another similar total for other work by adding 'always', 'often' and 'sometimes'.

Analysis by teaching experience showed generally the same pattern as for all respondents. The least experienced, 0-5, showed slightly less accountability to pupils than the other groups, and the 20+ group was the most accountable by a small margin. The balance between moral and professional accountability varied with 0-5 and 10-15 favouring moral over professional, and 5-10, 15-20 and 20+ favouring professional over moral.

Parents

Respondents indicated low and decreasing feelings of accountability to parents.

In the first survey in Case Study School 1 the two less experienced groups (0-5 and 5-10 years) felt less accountable to parents for teaching than the three more experienced groups. This was not supported by the respondents in Case Study School 2, where there was no apparent pattern. It should be noted that two respondents in Case Study School 2 never felt accountable to parents for their teaching. In Case Study School 1 teachers felt professionally and, less so, morally accountable, whilst in the other school feelings were professional, moral and contractual.

All groups but the most experienced in Case Study School 1 felt always or often accountable to parents for pupils' learning, professionally. Within the most experienced group responses varied across all five categories. In Case Study School 2 there was again no noticeable pattern.

In both schools accountability for other work was not clear across any group, and although in Case Study School 1 the feelings were mainly professional in the other school feelings were of all three types.

Five interviewees mentioned a moral accountability towards parents although this was usually linked to a notion of shared accountability and partnership. A comment was also made by one of the most experienced teachers about how this accountability had developed over her teaching career and the pendulum had swung towards parents wanting teachers to being more accountable.

“Parent-power is bigger now and I’m more accountable to the parents because they complain if I don’t get their children through – things like that I didn’t feel before.”
(Middle Manager Int.2)

“To the children’s parents? ... Well, parents’ evenings, reports... and just ... well we’re in charge of their children’s education... I think we are highly accountable to them, to the parents and they obviously want to know what’s going on and how their children are doing. It’s their right to ask us about how their children are getting on. It’s a big one to leave out which I didn’t think of at the moment.” (Classroom Teacher Int.10)

Initial analysis of the responses to this section of the second survey questionnaires indicated a problem which had not been picked up during the piloting of the research instrument. The problem arose from the use of ‘my parents’. Whilst on the original grid this phrase was clear, placed as it was between ‘my pupils’ and ‘my subject colleagues’, and respondents realised that it referred to the parents of their pupils, i.e. the parents to whom they had to report. On the second grid the inclusion of ‘myself’ and ‘my family’ appears to have confused some respondents who interpreted ‘my parents’ as being their own parents. Although the results of this particular question have been calculated with the others, the reliability of this result must be questioned.

The results for all respondents indicate a low level of accountability compared with previously mentioned stakeholders. Whilst results were low in the first survey there has been a drop in strength of feelings of

accountability since then. Moral accountability is the strongest form and there was little feeling of any contractual accountability to parents (Table 5.7).

	Teaching	Pupils' Learning	Other Work
Always	14	14	9
Often	13	8	13
Sometimes	21	13	15
Rarely	13	15	16
Never	24	34	26
Moral Accountability	41	39	40
Professional Accountability	30	30	28
Contractual Accountability	9	12	8

Table 5.7 Accountability to my parents – both schools – second survey

The results by gender show similar levels of response from males and females (Table 5.8).

	Teaching		Pupils' Learning		Other Work	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Always	18	13	14	15	7	11
Often	0	21	4	10	14	13
Sometimes	21	19	14	11	4	19
Rarely	14	13	11	17	18	15
Never	22	25	32	34	32	24
Moral Accountability	39	40	32	40	32	45
Professional Accountability	25	32	21	34	25	27
Contractual Accountability	11	9	14	10	11	7

Table 5.8 Accountability to my parents – all respondents by gender– second survey

When analysed by role, it is noticeable that senior middle managers have a stronger sense of accountability to parents than classroom teachers and middle managers (Table 5.9).

	Classroom teacher	Middle manager	Senior Mid. Manager	Senior Manager
Always	5	5	33	41
Often	11	22	22	0
Sometimes	20	28	0	33
Rarely	11	22	22	0
Never	36	17	0	17
Moral Accountability	28	44	67	59
Professional Accountability	25	28	44	33
Contractual Accountability	3	11	11	25

Table 5.9 Accountability to my parents – all respondents by role – second survey

Analysed by teaching experience, with the exception of the 15-20 group (only two respondents), accountability increased with teaching experience. Moral accountability outweighed professional in all but the most experienced group.

In at least one case study school the apparent drop in accountability to parents may arise out of a temporary sense of resentment over the writing of pupil reports for them. This would be strongest amongst those who write the largest number of reports – classroom teachers and middle managers. One interviewee described an increase in parent power through the complaints procedure, and as these complaints are largely dealt with at a senior level this may explain the feeling of accountability held by senior staff. I discuss these findings further in my final chapter.

Subject colleagues

Teachers felt professionally accountable to their subject colleagues for the work they do.

In the first survey in both case study schools, feelings of accountability to subject colleagues for one's teaching increased with teachers' experience. Professional accountability was predominant, but with some moral and contractual feelings.

Accountability to subject colleagues for pupils' learning in Case Study School 1 was strong in all groups whilst in Case Study School 2 there was less accountability felt in the middle experienced groups (10-15 and 15-20

years). In Case Study School 1 feelings were strongly professional, but in Case Study School 2, although professional was still the most cited, there were also strong feelings of contractual accountability.

Across all five experience groups in both schools feelings of accountability to subject colleagues were weaker for other work than for teaching or learning. Professional accountability continued to be the most common across all groups in Case Study School 1, but with increased feelings of moral and contractual accountability. In Case Study School 2 moral accountability overtook professional in the middle three groups (5-10, 10-15, 15-20 years).

Six of the twelve interviewees talked of a professional accountability to subject colleagues and the need for teamwork.

“All the teachers of (*subject*), and the technicians to some extent. They all have accountability towards me for different reasons.” (Senior Middle Manager Int.3)

“In terms of actually how my performance is, I’d see as a job I’m accountable to my line manager and higher up the senior team. If you look at it the other way you’re accountable to the people you’re leading.” (Middle Manager Int.6)

“Because without the department there would be no team and it would all crumble around us I think. Being part of that team is also really, really important – you know if you haven’t got a good team, a team spirit going on there, then I don’t think we can function properly and the kids wouldn’t benefit as much as they would otherwise.” (Classroom Teacher Int.10)

“My colleagues in the department...making sure I do as well as they do... we share ... we get on. Probably the

head of department ... the hierarchy really...following the way up to the top and more than anybody, I suppose, to the Headteacher... he's the one supervising the whole thing." (Classroom Teacher Int.11)

In the second survey there was a strong feeling of accountability to subject colleagues with all respondents feeling at least accountable 'sometimes' for teaching and for pupils' learning, with teaching being the most frequent of the two (Table 5.10). The predominant type of accountability was professional with moral and contractual equal second.

	Teaching	Pupils' Learning	Other Work
Always	51	38	27
Often	36	39	30
Sometimes	9	16	23
Rarely	0	0	5
Never	0	0	3
Moral Accountability	37	35	32
Professional Accountability	86	83	78
Contractual Accountability	30	30	17

Table 5.10 Accountability to my subject colleagues – both schools – second survey

Females expressed a greater accountability to subject colleagues than males (Table 5.11).

	Teaching		Pupils' Learning		Other Work	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Always	36	60	25	44	22	30
Often	36	34	36	39	22	32
Sometimes	14	6	18	15	36	15
Rarely	0	0	0	0	4	7
Never	0	0	0	0	0	4
Moral Accountability	32	40	25	40	18	40
Professional Accountability	75	89	68	89	71	79
Contractual Accountability	25	32	29	30	25	13

Table 5.11 Accountability to my subject colleagues – all respondents by gender – second survey

Accountability by role showed an increase from classroom teacher through middle manager to senior middle manager, with senior managers showing

less than the other two managerial groups. The senior managers have less subject and more whole school commitment.

Analysed by teaching experience those with 20+ years' experience felt the most accountable to subject colleagues.

The importance of the team to teachers is stressed by interviewees and confirmed by the questionnaire data. There appears to be a particular importance for team leaders – a top-down accountability – which accounts for the middle leadership and most experienced teachers feeling the most accountable.

Line manager

There was contractual accountability to line managers, particularly from those with line management responsibility of their own.

In the first survey in Case Study School 1 there was a high level of accountability to line managers for teaching, although the most experienced felt the least accountability. In Case Study School 2, apart from the least experienced group, much less accountability was felt. In both schools accountability was mainly professional and some contractual.

In Case Study School 1 there was a similar pattern of accountability for pupils' learning as for teaching. In Case Study School 2 there was an increased feeling of accountability. Again in both schools professional and then contractual accountabilities were the strongest.

Less accountability was felt in both schools for other work. Professional and contractual accountabilities continued to be dominant.

Amongst interviewees, those who did not place pupils first felt themselves to be primarily accountable to a line manager. These interviewees were senior, senior middle or middle leaders within the school structure. All interviewees recognised an accountability to their immediate line manager (head of department or line deputy).

“(I feel accountable to) L.....(*Head of department*). I suppose you have a moral responsibility to the children, but to get my work done and to a good standard I want to get that done within the department, so we have a good name – that I don’t let anyone within the department down..... We’re a very, very together department – I don’t want to be the link in the chain which lets us down..... Once or twice when she (L..) has been formal in what she’s asked me to do, I’ve never felt awkward about it. We know she is our boss so we know that occasionally she will say ‘I expect you to do this’ or ‘we will expect you to do this’, and for her to give us guidance about how to do things. There is a very two-way thing.” (Classroom Teacher Int.1)

“(I feel accountable) directly to my line manager. And to the head. I’m accountable to my line manager and the head out of moral accountability.” (Senior Middle Manager Int.3)

“Also I think you feel accountable to your head of department to make sure you’re doing the right thing, are up together with the schemes of work, and generally they overshadow what you do.” (Classroom Teacher Int.4)

“I feel accountable to J...(head of department). I’ve taken on a responsibility for ICT next year and in terms of that responsibility I think yes I am accountable to the department.” (Classroom Teacher Int.9)

The results for all respondents showed that approximately half of the respondents always felt accountable to their line manager for their teaching, with the vast majority accountable at least sometimes. Accountability for pupils’ learning and other work is less (Table 5.12). Accountability is

predominantly professional with approximately half as strong contractual accountability and moral accountability just behind.

	Teaching	Pupils' Learning	Other Work
Always	55	44	35
Often	22	36	27
Sometimes	17	8	16
Rarely	3	1	1
Never	0	1	5
Moral Accountability	24	24	24
Professional Accountability	82	76	65
Contractual Accountability	39	37	30

Table 5.12 Accountability to my line manager – both schools – second survey

Women were almost twice as likely as men to be always accountable to their line manager (Table 5.13).

	Teaching		Pupils' Learning		Other Work	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Always	36	66	32	51	22	43
Often	29	15	32	36	36	19
Sometimes	18	17	11	6	14	17
Rarely	4	2	0	2	0	2
Never	0	0	0	0	4	6
Moral Accountability	18	28	18	28	18	27
Professional Accountability	75	83	61	83	57	68
Contractual Accountability	36	40	39	36	25	32

Table 5.13 Accountability to my line manager – all respondents by gender – second survey

By role middle managers and senior middle managers felt most accountable to line managers. Classroom teachers felt least accountable (Table 5.14). Although still in second place to professional accountability, contractual accountability was higher amongst middle and senior managers.

	Classroom teacher	Middle manager	Senior Mid. Manager	Senior Manager
Always	50	67	56	50
Often	19	17	22	33
Sometimes	20	17	11	17
Rarely	5	0	0	0
Never	0	0	0	0
Moral Accountability	20	22	22	41
Professional Accountability	78	84	78	92
Contractual Accountability	28	44	44	59

Table 5.14 Accountability to my line manager – all respondents by role – second survey

By experience the 20+ group had the strongest accountability to line managers and the highest degree of contractual accountability (although still in second place). Just behind in terms of accountability was the 0-5 group. The lowest accountability was amongst the 10-15 and 15-20 groups.

It appears from these findings that although there is more acknowledgement of a contractual accountability to line managers, this is still overshadowed by professional accountability. The results also raise questions about the hierarchical leadership within the case study schools, and whether all staff, particularly classroom teachers with more than five years experience, feel committed to it.

Headteacher

Teachers felt accountable to headteachers, but this was more professional than contractual, and the strength of accountability depended on the degree of regular contact with the headteacher.

In the first survey in Case Study School 1 members of staff felt more accountable to headteachers than not for their teaching. In all but the middle group professional was stronger than contractual but by a smaller margin. In Case Study School 2 three groups (0-5, 5-10, 20+ years) felt accountable to the headteacher, whilst the others (10-15, 15-20 years) felt little or no accountability.

In both schools staff felt slightly more accountable for pupils' learning, and the emphasis on professional accountability was greater.

There was a decrease in accountability for other work in both schools with an increase in moral accountability.

All interviewees acknowledged an accountability to the headteacher, although in the case of the least experienced classroom teachers this was after prompting.

“Obviously (*I feel accountable*) to the senior management, to the headteacher, deputies, to line managers, that sort of thing.” (Middle Manager Int.2)

“..they (*the senior leadership team*) oversee the school as a whole, so they expect you to be doing a professional job.” (Classroom Teacher Int.4)

All respondents in the second survey acknowledged accountability to the headteacher but only half the respondents always felt this (Table 5.15). The dominant type of accountability was still professional with contractual in second places.

	Teaching	Pupils' Learning	Other Work
Always	52	50	37
Often	23	24	17
Sometimes	19	15	24
Rarely	0	3	1
Never	0	0	4
Moral Accountability	21	20	22
Professional Accountability	73	69	64
Contractual Accountability	48	43	31

Table 5.15 Accountability to my headteacher – both schools – second survey

Female teachers were twice as likely to feel ‘always’ accountable to the headteacher (Table 5.16).

	Teaching		Pupils' Learning		Other Work	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Always	29	66	36	57	25	45
Often	36	13	18	25	25	11
Sometimes	18	19	22	10	25	23
Rarely	0	0	4	2	0	2
Never	0	0	0	0	0	6
Moral Accountability	18	24	18	21	14	27
Professional Accountability	64	77	54	76	54	68
Contractual Accountability	47	49	43	43	25	34

**Table 5.16 Accountability to my headteacher – all respondents
by gender – second survey**

Middle managers were by far the most accountable to the headteacher, with senior managers second, and senior middle managers and classroom teachers behind. Senior managers expressed a very high level of professional accountability linked to high levels of moral and contractual accountability (Table 5.17). This may well be the result of the direct day-to-day contact which senior managers have with the headteacher.

	Classroom teacher	Middle manager	Senior Mid. Manager	Senior Manager
Always	42	72	44	59
Often	28	11	11	33
Sometimes	25	17	11	8
Rarely	0	0	0	0
Never	0	0	0	0
Moral Accountability	20	16	0	50
Professional Accountability	70	78	56	92
Contractual Accountability	42	61	22	67

**Table 5.17 Accountability to my headteacher – all respondents
by role – second survey**

Those with 20+ years of experience expressed the highest level of accountability, with the other groups equal not far behind (Table 5.18). The lowest level of contractual accountability was amongst the 0-5 group. The highest level of contractual accountability was amongst the 5-10 group where it was the equal highest type of accountability with professional accountability.

	0-5 years	5-10 years	10-15 years	15-20 years	20+ years
Always	52	50	44	0	60
Often	22	33	33	50	12
Sometimes	22	17	11	50	16
Rarely	0	0	0	0	0
Never	0	0	0	0	0
Moral Accountability	15	8	33	50	28
Professional Accountability	67	67	78	100	80
Contractual Accountability	33	67	56	50	52

**Table 5.18 Accountability to my headteacher – all respondents
by experience – second survey**

Despite all the interviewees having listed the headteacher amongst the stakeholders to whom they felt most accountable, this did not seem to be upheld by the survey data. The need for more prompting with the classroom teachers interviewed does reflect the survey data.

All colleagues in the school

There was some professional accountability felt to other colleagues but no strong trends were noticeable.

In the first survey in both case study schools there was no pattern of accountability to all colleagues for one's teaching with responses across all five categories. In Case Study School 1 staff felt professionally accountable whilst in School 2 staff felt morally accountable.

The same pattern, or lack of it, was the case in accountability for pupils' learning and for one's other work.

In the second survey the replies for all respondents indicated that few always felt accountable to all the colleagues in the school, although most felt accountable at least sometimes (Table 5.19). The main type of accountability expressed was professional.

	Teaching	Pupils' Learning	Other Work
Always	17	20	16
Often	25	31	18
Sometimes	43	34	33
Rarely	9	7	11
Never	1	3	8
Moral Accountability	28	25	32
Professional Accountability	80	76	62
Contractual Accountability	26	26	21

**Table 5.19 Accountability to all colleagues – both schools
– second survey**

There was little variation between male and female respondents (Table 5.20).

	Teaching		Pupils' Learning		Other Work	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Always	14	19	18	21	18	15
Often	21	28	18	38	21	17
Sometimes	39	42	29	34	32	32
Rarely	11	8	18	0	4	15
Never	0	2	0	4	7	9
Moral Accountability	22	32	25	26	25	36
Professional Accountability	75	81	64	81	57	64
Contractual Accountability	32	24	36	21	29	17

**Table 5.20 Accountability to all colleagues – all respondents
by gender – second survey**

Analysis by role showed that senior middle managers were the group which felt 'always' accountable the most, whilst the other three categories were equally less accountable (Table 5.21).

	Classroom teacher	Middle manager	Senior Mid. Manager	Senior Manager
Always	11	11	56	17
Often	22	22	33	33
Sometimes	42	56	11	50
Rarely	17	5	0	0
Never	0	6	0	0
Moral Accountability	19	33	33	41
Professional Accountability	78	72	89	92
Contractual Accountability	14	28	44	50

**Table 5.21 Accountability to all colleagues – all respondents
by role – second survey**

When looking at the results by teaching experience the 20+ group was that which expressed the most frequent accountability to all colleagues.

The strength of accountability to all colleagues by those with 20+ years of teaching and by middle managers may be due to length of service within one establishment – data which was not collected – and staffroom relationships created across subjects.

Governors

Despite recent government legislation, which has increased the powers and responsibilities of governing bodies, most teachers did not feel accountable to them.

In the first survey in Case Study School 1 there was little feeling of accountability to governors for teaching, particularly amongst the three less experienced groups. This was also the case in School 2. Contractual accountability was the most dominant feeling.

Accountability for pupils' learning and for other work showed the same pattern.

Only two interviewees felt any accountability towards governors. Both these were senior members of staff. All other respondents felt no accountability and the majority did not know the function of the governors. As in the analysis of the trial interviews it was stressed that governors were not seen and therefore were not in teachers' minds – even though more experienced teachers recognised that technically (contractually?) they should feel accountable.

“I’ve got no idea who the governors are. I’ve been here for four years and I could just about identify two of them.”

(Classroom Teacher Int.1)

“I suppose I should (*feel accountable to governors*) but I tend less so than other things. I think it’s because I don’t see the governors.” (Middle Manager Int.2)

“I have a fair bit of contact with them in terms of my job as head of department.” (Senior Middle Manager Int.3)

“I’ve had very little to do with governors in my time. I probably should feel more accountable to them but I don’t really, no. To be totally honest with you, I’ve never actually met a governor.” (Classroom Teacher Int.4)

“I know the governors are my boss in the sense that I’m hired by them and the LEA, but in terms of your everyday life you don’t feel accountable to them at all.” (Middle Manager Int.6)

“I know I should be but in my day-to-day that’s not who I feel accountable to.” (Classroom Teacher Int.8)

“Not at all. They’re just a faceless body to me. I know we’ve seen them yet I don’t feel that ... it’s a bit like the ground troop and the army general sitting back behind the lines telling us to take that bit of no-man’s land.”
(Classroom Teacher Int.9)

“We don’t see the school governors perhaps as much as we would hear from the parents and other people that we feel accountable to. They’re sort of there in the background and of course we’re accountable to them but I don’t feel that ... it wouldn’t be my first response. We are accountable to them obviously to them but I didn’t think of them first off because they have a very important role but they’re on the outskirts of things. I don’t see them on a daily basis.” (Classroom Teacher Int.10)

Classroom teachers felt the least accountable whilst senior middle managers felt the most. This supported comments made by classroom teachers and the senior middle manager in the interviews (Table 5.24). Surprisingly senior managers felt less accountable than senior middle managers. Whilst contractual accountability was dominant for classroom teachers, middle managers and senior middle managers, professional accountability was the main type for senior managers.

	Classroom teacher	Middle manager	Senior Mid. Manager	Senior Manager
Always	17	22	33	25
Often	14	11	11	25
Sometimes	33	44	33	41
Rarely	17	22	11	8
Never	14	0	11	0
Moral Accountability	11	6	33	25
Professional Accountability	41	45	56	75
Contractual Accountability	53	61	78	67

Table 5.24 Accountability to my governors – all respondents by role – second survey

Analysis by teaching experience showed a greater distinction between accountability for teaching and accountability for pupils' learning, which was the stronger of the two in all categories but the 20+ group (Table 5.25). The 20+ group expressed the most accountability, but after that the trend was that the less experienced one was, the more accountability was felt.

	0-5 years	5-10 years	10-15 years	15-20 years	20+ years
Always	19	17	11	0	32
Often	15	17	22	0	12
Sometimes	30	50	44	100	32
Rarely	19	17	22	0	12
Never	15	0	0	0	8
Moral Accountability	7	0	22	50	24
Professional Accountability	41	33	67	100	56
Contractual Accountability	33	83	78	50	72

Table 5.25 Accountability to my governors – all respondents by experience – second survey

Governors, to whom all teachers are contractually accountable, are not seen as such by most staff, apart from experienced and senior staff who might have had most contact with them.

The Local Education Authority

Little accountability was felt to the LEA, even by senior managers.

In the first survey in Case Study School 1 three groups (0-5, 5-10, 20+ years) felt little accountability to the LEA for teaching. In Case Study School 2 all but the most experienced felt little or no accountability to the LEA. Contractual accountability was the overwhelming feeling.

Similar patterns were evident for pupils' learning and other work

The only accountability expressed to the LEA by interviewees was a share of a joint institutional accountability and the acknowledgement that the LEA made rules to which staff had to adhere.

“I don’t see the LEA. I think of myself working for Hampshire County Council, but I suppose because I don’t see them – they’re not really in the forefront of my mind.”
(Middle Manager Int.2)

“I wouldn’t say I don’t feel accountable to the LEA but I would say that I don’t feel I have a day-to-day contact directly with them. My accountability to them is really through my subject.” (Senior Middle Manager Int.3)

“Not really to be perfectly honest with you. I know they’re people who pay our salary but they’re not involved with what we do on a day-to-day basis even though I should do because they’re the ones paying the salary.” (Classroom Teacher Int.4)

“I do (*feel accountable to the LEA*) when the inspector comes in, because obviously he’s looking at us but I sort of feel again that as a whole – as a collective – we are accountable and I feel that when Ofsted comes in. But I don’t think that in the day-to-day running of what I do.”
(Middle Manager Int.5)

“The LEA? I think so... to a certain extent... but then I think that what we ... what a department does in relation to what the senior management has been told they have to do. We are accountable to them but I wouldn’t see myself personally as accountable to the LEA because I would have to go through the ranks actually.” (Classroom Teacher Int.10)

In the second survey the results for all respondents showed little accountability to the LEA. There is a greater expression of ‘never’ feeling accountable to this stakeholder than to any of the previous stakeholders (Table 5.26). Accountability for teaching was stronger than for pupils’ learning and for other work. Contractual accountability outweighed professional accountability for both teaching and pupils’ learning.

	Teaching	Pupils’ Learning	Other Work
Always	17	16	8
Often	17	3	17
Sometimes	24	24	15
Rarely	30	24	20
Never	11	16	26
Moral Accountability	9	9	12
Professional Accountability	39	40	41
Contractual Accountability	53	53	36

Table 5.26 Accountability to the LEA – both schools
– second survey

Females felt more accountable to the LEA than males (Table 5.27). Both genders had stronger feelings of contractual accountability than professional, but female feelings of contractual accountability were weaker.

	Teaching		Pupils' Learning		Other Work	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Always	14	19	11	19	4	10
Often	11	21	11	17	14	19
Sometimes	11	30	14	28	18	10
Rarely	39	23	25	23	18	21
Never	18	7	29	9	29	26
Moral Accountability	11	8	11	9	11	13
Professional Accountability	36	39	39	38	39	40
Contractual Accountability	57	51	57	51	36	36

**Table 5.27 Accountability to the LEA – all respondents
by gender – second survey**

By role classroom teachers, senior middle and senior managers all felt similar levels of accountability, whilst middle managers felt much less accountability (Table 5.28).

	Classroom teacher	Middle manager	Senior Mid. Manager	Senior Manager
Always	22	6	22	17
Often	14	17	22	25
Sometimes	17	44	22	17
Rarely	33	22	22	33
Never	11	11	11	8
Moral Accountability	8	6	22	8
Professional Accountability	31	39	56	50
Contractual Accountability	53	50	67	50

**Table 5.28 Accountability to the LEA – all respondents
by role – second survey**

The 20+ years' experience group felt the most experience, followed by the 0-5, 10-15, 5-10 and 15-20 groups in that order. All groups apart from 0-5 favoured contractual accountability over professional (Table 5.29). The least experienced group had a higher level of professional accountability than contractual.

	0-5 years	5-10 years	10-15 years	15-20 years	20+ years
Always	15	8	11	0	28
Often	22	17	11	0	16
Sometimes	22	33	44	50	12
Rarely	26	33	22	50	32
Never	11	8	11	0	12
Moral Accountability	7	0	11	50	12
Professional Accountability	37	33	44	50	40
Contractual Accountability	30	83	78	100	52

**Table 5.29 Accountability to the LEA – all respondents
by experience – second survey**

The lack of accountability to a stakeholder who is rarely seen in school is of little surprise; however, the showing of this lack of accountability by senior managers is more surprising as this group does have regular contact with the LEA.

The Department for Education and Skills

Little accountability was felt to the DfES.

In the first survey there was very little accountability to the DfES for teaching felt by any group across both schools. There was a mixture of professional and contractual accountabilities.

Whilst the levels of accountability for pupils' learning and other work remained the same as for their own teaching, there was an increase in favour of contractual accountability.

Amongst all respondents the second survey showed there was little feeling of accountability to the DfES (Table 5.30). Feelings were slightly higher for pupils' learning than for teaching, perhaps because of the use of pupil results by the DfES to judge the school. Teachers felt very little accountability to the DfES for their other work.

	Teaching	Pupils' Learning	Other Work
Always	12	13	5
Often	4	5	8
Sometimes	22	17	17
Rarely	40	31	22
Never	18	27	33
Moral Accountability	8	8	9
Professional Accountability	37	31	34
Contractual Accountability	48	49	39

Table 5.30 Accountability to the DfES – both schools
– second survey

Females felt more than four times more accountable 'always' to the DfES (Table 5.31). As with accountability to the LEA contractual accountability was stronger for both genders than professional but females felt less contractual and more professional accountability than males.

	Teaching		Pupils' Learning		Other Work	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Always	4	17	4	19	0	9
Often	0	7	0	9	4	10
Sometimes	7	30	7	21	14	17
Rarely	54	32	29	32	18	23
Never	25	15	46	15	43	28
Moral Accountability	7	8	7	9	4	13
Professional Accountability	32	38	18	36	29	34
Contractual Accountability	50	47	50	49	39	38

Table 5.31 Accountability to the DfES – all respondents
by gender – second survey

Senior middle managers felt most accountability, followed by senior managers, classroom teachers and middle managers (Table 5.32). Whilst all groups felt more contractual than professional and little moral accountability to the DfES, the senior middle managers and senior managers had high levels of contractual accountability compared to the others.

	Classroom teacher	Middle manager	Senior Mid. Manager	Senior Manager
Always	11	6	22	17
Often	3	5	0	8
Sometimes	20	33	33	8
Rarely	44	39	22	42
Never	17	17	22	25
Moral Accountability	6	6	22	8
Professional Accountability	33	39	44	42
Contractual Accountability	42	44	78	50

Table 5.32 Accountability to the DfES – all respondents by role – second survey

With the exception of the 15-20 years' experience group (only two respondents) accountability to the DfES increased with years of experience (Table 5.33).

	0-5 years	5-10 years	10-15 years	15-20 years	20+ years
Always	7	8	11	0	20
Often	4	0	11	0	4
Sometimes	33	8	33	50	12
Rarely	26	75	33	0	44
Never	22	8	11	50	20
Moral Accountability	4	0	11	50	12
Professional Accountability	30	42	33	50	44
Contractual Accountability	22	67	78	100	52

Table 5.33 Accountability to the DfES – all respondents by experience – second survey

The results for the DfES reinforce the theory that accountability only thrives where there is constant contact. Few classroom teachers have regular contact with the DfES, although there is now indirect communication via a newsletter from the GTC.

The community neighbouring the school

Accountability was felt occasionally to the local community.

In the first survey in both schools in three sections - one's teaching, pupils' learning, and other work - there was a spread from 'never' to

‘always’ in all experience groups. The dominant feeling of accountability was moral with very few feelings of contractual accountability.

“I suppose because I’m quite involved in the local community I want the school to have a good name amongst them, and I always speak up the school when it’s relevant in the local community.” (Classroom Teacher Int.1)

In the second survey, little accountability was felt constantly by all respondents to the local community (Table 5.34). Professional accountability just surpassed moral accountability with contractual accountability far behind.

	Teaching	Pupils' Learning	Other Work
Always	10	9	7
Often	17	13	18
Sometimes	36	34	27
Rarely	27	28	20
Never	7	8	13
Moral Accountability	44	37	34
Professional Accountability	49	48	45
Contractual Accountability	12	16	12

Table 5.34 Accountability to the local community – both schools – second survey

Women felt almost twice as accountable to the local community than men (Table 5.35).

	Teaching		Pupils' Learning		Other Work	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Always	7	13	7	11	4	9
Often	11	19	7	15	18	19
Sometimes	32	38	29	36	32	21
Rarely	29	26	29	28	11	26
Never	11	4	14	4	14	13
Moral Accountability	39	45	36	36	32	32
Professional Accountability	47	51	50	47	46	45
Contractual Accountability	18	8	21	13	18	8

Table 5.35 Accountability to the local community – all respondents by gender – second survey

Senior middle managers were most accountable, followed a long way behind by classroom teachers, senior managers and middle managers (Table 5.36). Middle managers were the only group where moral accountability was greater than professional.

	Classroom teacher	Middle manager	Senior Mid. Manager	Senior Manager
Always	8	6	33	8
Often	9	28	22	25
Sometimes	36	39	11	50
Rarely	36	22	22	8
Never	5	5	11	8
Moral Accountability	33	56	56	50
Professional Accountability	39	50	67	67
Contractual Accountability	11	0	44	8

Table 5.36 Accountability to the local community – all respondents by role – second survey

By experience there was an increase in accountability to the community as experience increased (Table 5.37).

	0-5 years	5-10 years	10-15 years	15-20 years	20+ years
Always	70	8	0	0	20
Often	11	8	33	50	20
Sometimes	33	33	67	50	28
Rarely	33	42	0	0	24
Never	7	8	0	0	8
Moral Accountability	33	33	56	50	56
Professional Accountability	3	50	78	50	60
Contractual Accountability	0	17	22	50	16

Table 5.37 Accountability to the local community – all respondents by experience – second survey

Findings which stood out here were the lack of accountability shown by senior managers to the community and an apparent shift from moral to professional accountability between the two surveys, although in both surveys the results were so close, only a small shift was necessary and this may just be due to different respondents in each survey.

Business sponsors of the school

Accountability to sponsors did not increase as schools progressed through specialist status.

The first survey showed there was little feeling of accountability to sponsors for anything in either school. Where accountability was felt, this was mainly professional with very little contractual.

The only feeling of accountability to a business sponsor was by the most senior leader interviewed who had had dealings with sponsors during the raising of the required £50000 to submit the specialist school application. Most interviewees were unaware who the school's sponsors were.

“Honestly I don’t *(feel accountable to our business sponsors)*. ...” (Senior Middle Manager Int.3)

“Although they’ve given money I wouldn’t *(feel accountable)* particularly... ” (Classroom Teacher Int.4)

“I admit I wouldn’t feel accountable to them either.”
(Middle Manager Int.6)

“It sounds ungrateful if I say no. In my day-to-day work it doesn’t come into my mind that I should be accountable to them....” (Classroom Teacher Int.8)

“People like H... *(sponsors)* just wouldn’t be in my mind.” (Classroom Teacher Int.9)

In the second survey, all respondents registered the lowest level of accountability for business sponsors, with almost half saying that they never felt accountable to business sponsors (Table 5.38).

	Teaching	Pupils' Learning	Other Work
Always	3	3	3
Often	5	7	9
Sometimes	15	13	9
Rarely	28	25	17
Never	46	45	45
Moral Accountability	11	7	13
Professional Accountability	36	36	30
Contractual Accountability	26	23	20

Table 5.38 Accountability to business sponsors – both schools – second survey

Men in particular felt no accountability to sponsors (Table 5.39).

	Teaching		Pupils' Learning		Other Work	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Always	0	4	0	4	0	4
Often	7	4	7	7	7	10
Sometimes	7	19	11	15	29	11
Rarely	18	32	11	32	14	17
Never	57	40	57	38	50	43
Moral Accountability	7	13	7	6	7	17
Professional Accountability	25	42	22	44	25	34
Contractual Accountability	29	21	25	20	18	19

Table 5.39 Accountability to business sponsors – all respondents by gender – second survey

Senior middle managers were the only group to have any constant feelings of accountability to business sponsors (Table 5.40). In all groups any accountability was mainly professional, followed by contractual and then moral.

	Classroom teacher	Middle manager	Senior Mid. Manager	Senior Manager
Always	0	0	22	0
Often	3	0	11	17
Sometimes	17	17	11	8
Rarely	39	22	11	17
Never	36	61	44	59
Moral Accountability	8	0	33	17
Professional Accountability	31	33	56	42
Contractual Accountability	28	22	22	25

Table 5.40 Accountability to business sponsors – all respondents by role – second survey

Only the 20+ group had any constant feelings of accountability (Table 5.41).

	0-5 years	5-10 years	10-15 years	15-20 years	20+ years
Always	0	0	0	0	8
Often	4	8	0	0	8
Sometimes	11	8	11	50	20
Rarely	37	33	56	0	8
Never	41	50	33	50	56
Moral Accountability	4	0	22	0	20
Professional Accountability	37	42	22	50	36
Contractual Accountability	11	58	56	100	8

Table 5.41 Accountability to business sponsors – all respondents by experience – second survey

The relationship between teachers and business is discussed more fully in the next chapter. The fact that women felt more accountability might be due to both schools being language colleges with almost completely female language departments.

Accountability to society

This was investigated in the first survey only. In all five experience groups there was a spread of feelings of accountability from 'never' to 'always', with most being in the 'sometimes' and 'often' categories. This applied to teaching, learning and other work. Moral accountability was dominant.

Two-way accountability

In addition to the accountability expressed by teachers to others, interviewees also were keen to express the feeling that they should also be accounted to by others.

“I feel they don’t consider us in a lot of things... There’s no consideration in the proper sense of the word as to how it would impact on classroom teachers... We always do it because it’s our job and it always gets done.” (Classroom Teacher Int.1)

“Sometimes it feels that the accountability is very one-sided and I wish it could be a little bit less... I feel that as you get lower down, as you can see my main job is as a teacher, I seem to very accountable to lots of people and I wonders sometimes if it’s the same professionalism. Are you a professional or employee? Is it just me that’s accountable to people or sometimes could they not be accountable to me because the decisions they make impact on my life... I think the Senior Leadership Team and I think the head (*should be accountable to me*). I think parents should take responsibility and I don’t think they always do...I don’t take kindly to being told what to do. I take kindly to being asked my opinion when suggestions are made ... I think that as a professional that should be taken into account. ... I often feel that children are more accountable to you than a lot of other people that you work with. It’s incredible because I only see them once a week and yet I see a lot of other people a lot more often.” (Middle Manager Int.5)

“I think support wise, definitely, yes. I didn’t look at it that way, yes, and I feel that’s really, really important, yes. I suppose if you look at it from the other angleof course, yes, they (*the head and head of department*) have. It’s

their duty to ensure that we are supported in disciplinary matters and that we are looked after. It's not the easiest of professions and it all helps to create an easy working atmosphere. When your management team are behind you then you are a quarter of the way there." (Classroom Teacher Int.10)

"I suppose again my colleagues and my head of department bearing in mind that we have our roles to play but they have theirs too and again because it's teamwork ... we've got things to doif they don't contribute it might effect our teaching and the pupils progress in terms of organisation mainly, targets, deadlines. I can't think who else should be accountable to me. I'm only a very small part of the system." (Classroom Teacher Int.11)

Some of this two-way accountability also became obvious through the analysis of the various stakeholders earlier in this chapter, particularly where teamwork was discussed. This area, which from the comments above seems to have a major effect on teacher morale, is one which deserves further research.

Stakeholders – an overview

The results from the second survey for the two extremes of my accountability scale indicate those which from all three data sources – both surveys and the interviews – are the key stakeholders. 'Myself', 'My pupils', and to a lesser extent 'My subject colleagues', 'My line manager' and 'My headteacher' are those most valued by teachers and could be considered to be those most in the professional tradition of teaching.

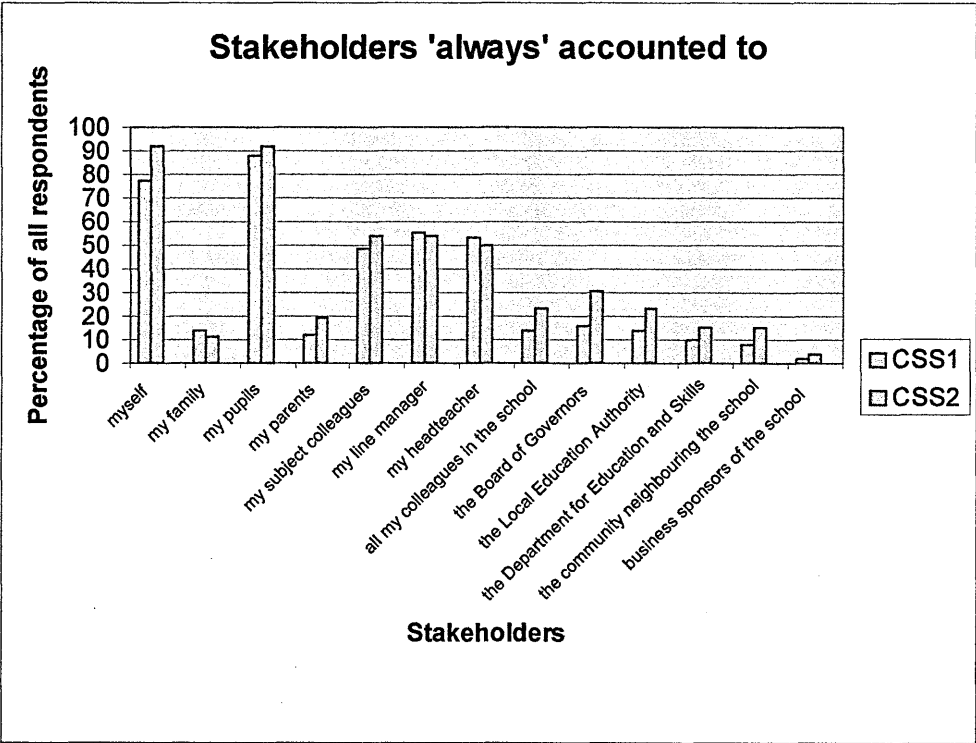


Figure 5.1 Stakeholders ‘always’ accounted to

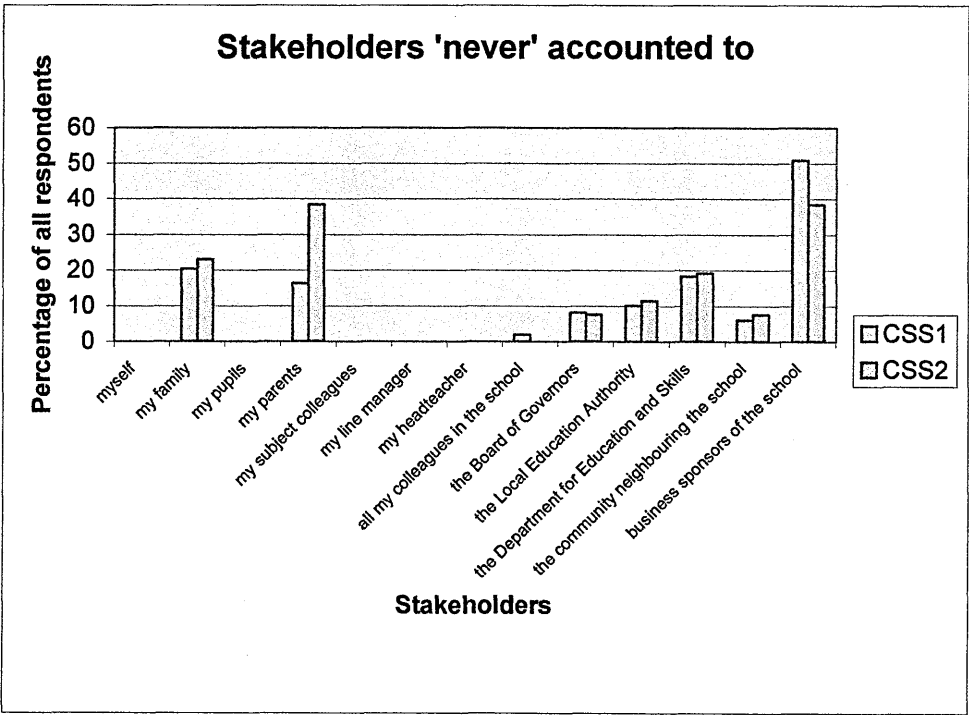


Figure 5.2 Stakeholders ‘never’ accounted to

The appearance of ‘My family’ amongst the negative group may also be an example of the selflessness of someone who perceives herself/himself to be a professional. The inclusion of ‘My parents’ is more problematical. My

explanation of the confusion reported by a few respondents, may account to some extent for this unexpected finding, but the strength of the data would indicate that this area should be further researched. Perhaps less surprisingly, those to whom teachers show little regard – ‘Governors’, ‘LEA’, ‘DfES’, ‘Local Community’ and ‘Business Sponsors’ demonstrate the constant message from the interviewees – the need for day-to-day contact by the stakeholder with the teacher to remind her/him of the need for accountability. This above all has implications for national education policy and local school leadership as a move is made to transfer to some of these groups increased power and authority.

How do teachers view the relationship between schools and business?

Teachers feel little accountability to business but recognise that money buys influence. They are prepared to accept money, although less so from individuals than companies. Business sponsors can enhance a school's management but they should not influence curriculum or staffing, nor should they promote products in the school.

One of the distinguishing features of specialist schools and their fore-runners, the City Technology Colleges, was the compulsory involvement of the business world in their establishment. The failure of staff to recognise this involvement, as became obvious from my analysis of the first survey, led me to investigate how teachers felt about business involvement in state education.

Initially I added a question to my interview schedule to extend respondents' comments from just accountability to business sponsors to their general feelings about businesses and schools.

There was some initial confusion about which businesses were actually sponsoring the school.

"I know we've got NATS⁴ and NATS to some extent plan to keep their money and involvement in the school."

(Classroom Teacher Int.1)

Whilst staff admitted feeling no accountability to business sponsors, there was a feeling that businesses should expect feedback that their money had been well spent.

“I think they (*the sponsors*) ought to be able to hold the relevant parties to account. So I think that the Languages College which effectively got the money should have some accountability towards H...(*the sponsoring company*). They should see some hard evidence that their investment has created some benefits for people. But I think they’re perfectly entitled to expect that – from a business point of view they should have some effect on the subject....(*As a sponsor*) you might not expect financial gain from it but you do expect some sort of impact.”

(Senior Middle Manager Int.3)

For some, the involvement of the business should be more active, with both sides learning more about the other.

“Although they’ve given money I wouldn’t (*feel accountable*) particularly... I’m not sure how it would work...I think it’s a nice idea (*sponsors having a say in the running of the school*). I think it would be a good idea for them to come and get an idea about the school and how teachers work, because it’s probably different to business, isn’t it. I think it would be a nice for teachers to have an idea because I’ve only ever taught. It would be quite nice to get an idea what goes on in the business world...”

(Classroom Teacher Int.4)

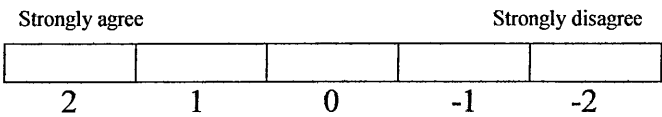
For most there is some confusion resulting from an inner conflict of a sense of moral accountability out of gratitude offset by a usually stronger sense of professionalism keeping the sponsor at arm’s length.

“I like the idea that schools get sponsored by business if schools can get resources as a result, and that there’s room for the private sector in schools but I wouldn’t feel beholden or responsible to them because I don’t think we should push sponsors in front of students.” (Middle Manager Int.6)

“I don’t think they (*sponsors*) should go investing in the first place unless they’re happy with what the school is going to do with their money before they put it in, so the school needs to have a clear plan to present to them before it asks for their money. Once they have agreed to it they have a right to expect to be consulted... Not to change things – any change must be by consultation between the people in the school actually doing the work.” (Classroom Teacher Int.8)

“I think it would be fair to give them a voice of some kind, maybe giving something back to them... If they’re going to invest that sort of money, then they’re doing it because they’ve got the future of the country in mind, and if they’re doing it to expect sales then they shouldn’t be listened to. It should be the professional teachers who should be in control.” (Classroom Teacher Int.9)

In the second survey I posed in the fourth section ten specific statements about a business-education relationship and asked respondents if they agreed or disagreed. The respondents replied using a 5-point scale. I show the strength of all the responses and have calculated from the 5-point scale an average position⁵ for each case study school, and for both schools together.



Statement 1: Schools should be allowed to seek sponsorship to supplement their budgets.

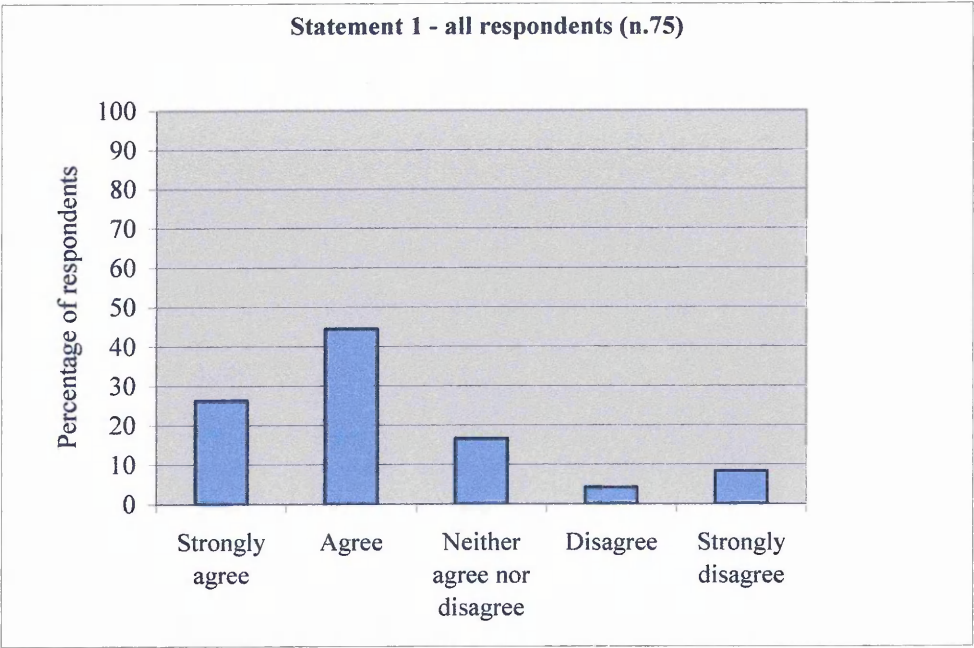


Figure 6.1 Statement 1 – all respondents

Teachers are generally positive about taking money from sponsors.

Across the 75 respondents from both schools only 9 were averse to Statement 1 (Figures 6.1 and 6.2).

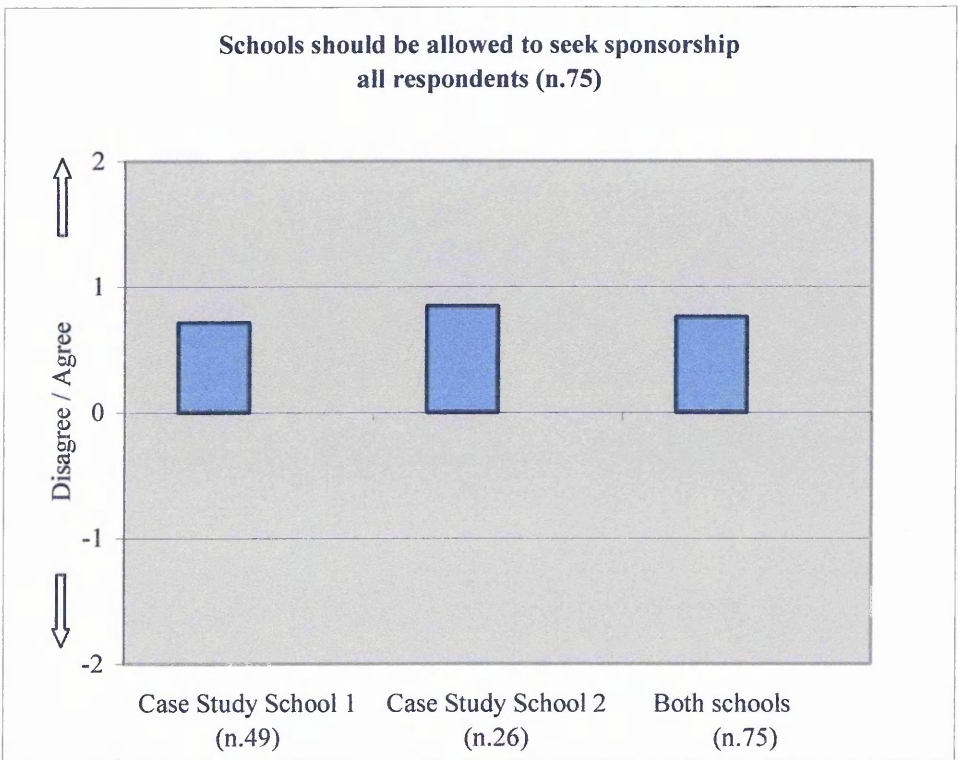


Figure 6.2 Schools should be allowed to seek sponsorship –all respondents

I then looked at the set of results for both schools by teaching experience (Figure 6.3) and by role (Figure 6.4) in order to determine if there were major differences. The most positive group about taking money from sponsors was middle managers.

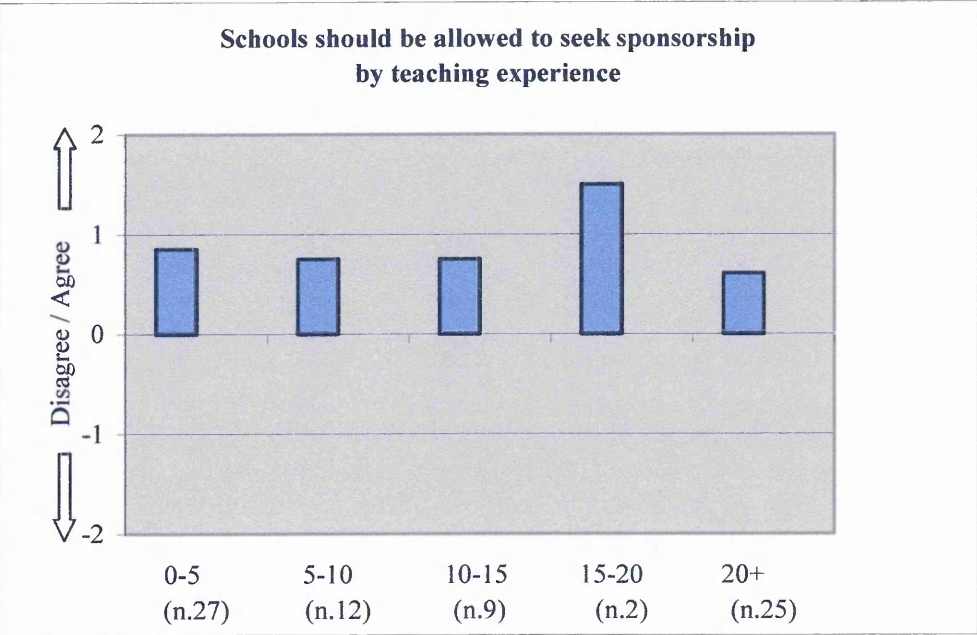


Figure 6.3 Schools should be allowed to seek sponsorship – by experience

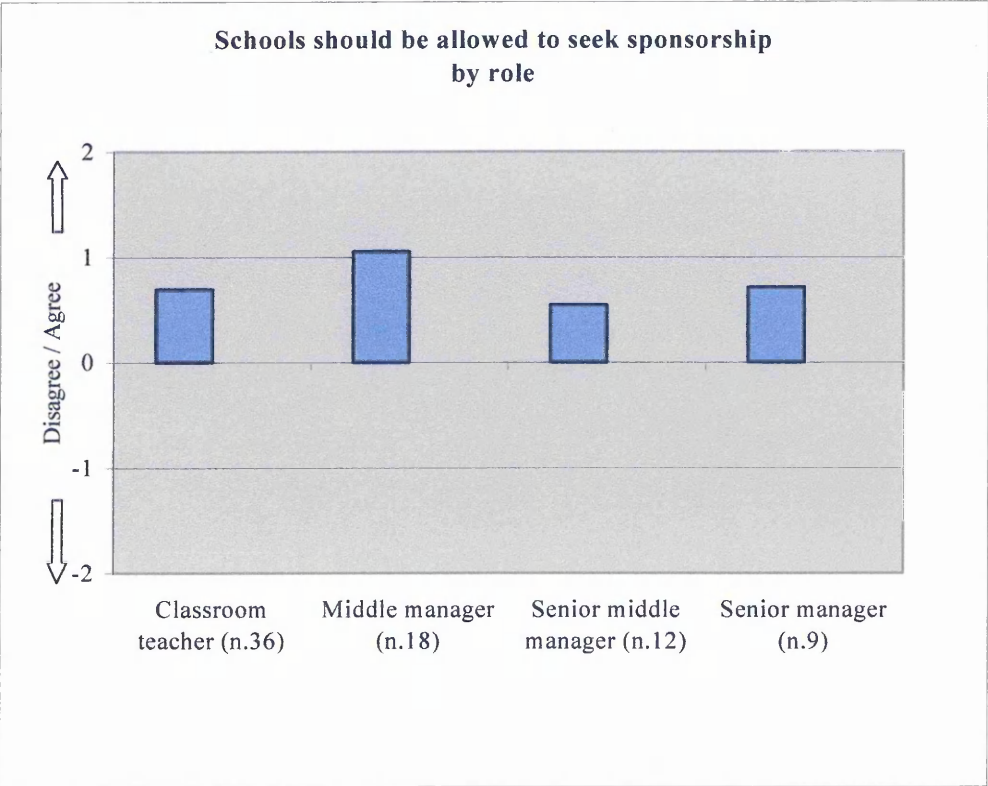


Figure 6.4 Schools should be allowed to seek sponsorship – by role

Individual respondents made the following comments:

“I don’t think they should need to if they are adequately funded.” (2/4)

“Schools should have adequate funds without sponsorship.” (2/50)

“I don’t agree that schools should have to seek sponsorship to provide what we believe are the needs of the school to help pupils meet their potential.” (2/100)

Statement 2: Individual schools should accept money from individual sponsors.

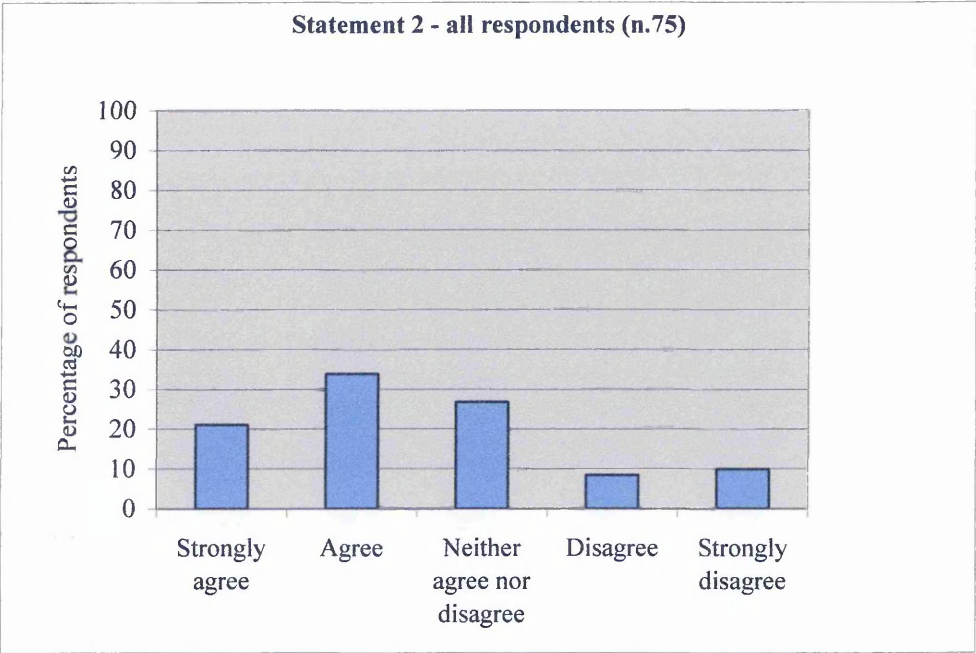
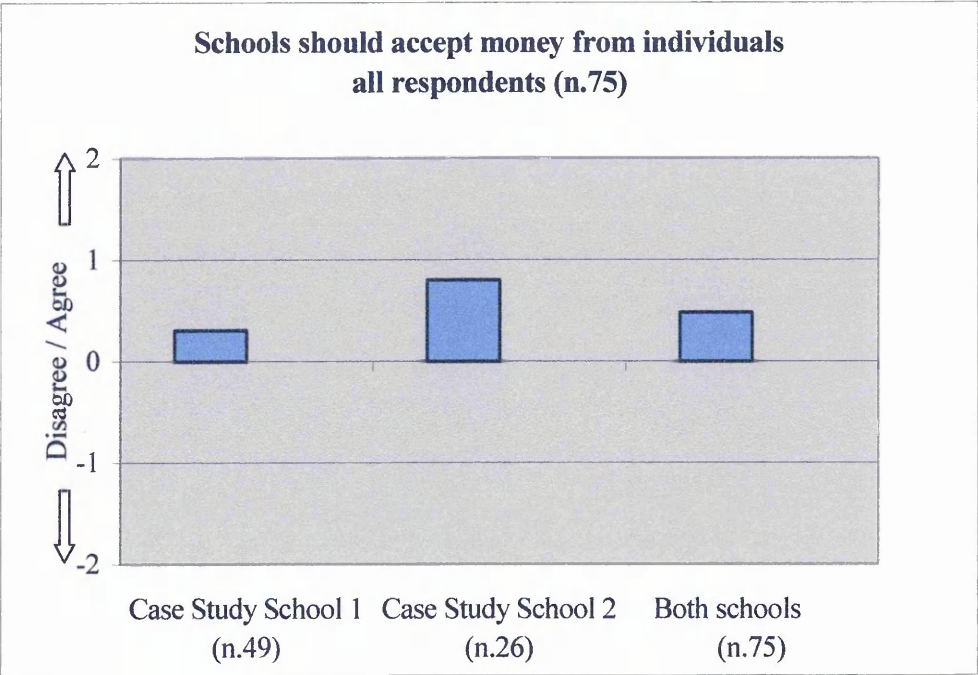


Figure 6.5 Statement 2 – all respondents

Teachers are slightly less happy to take money from individuals.

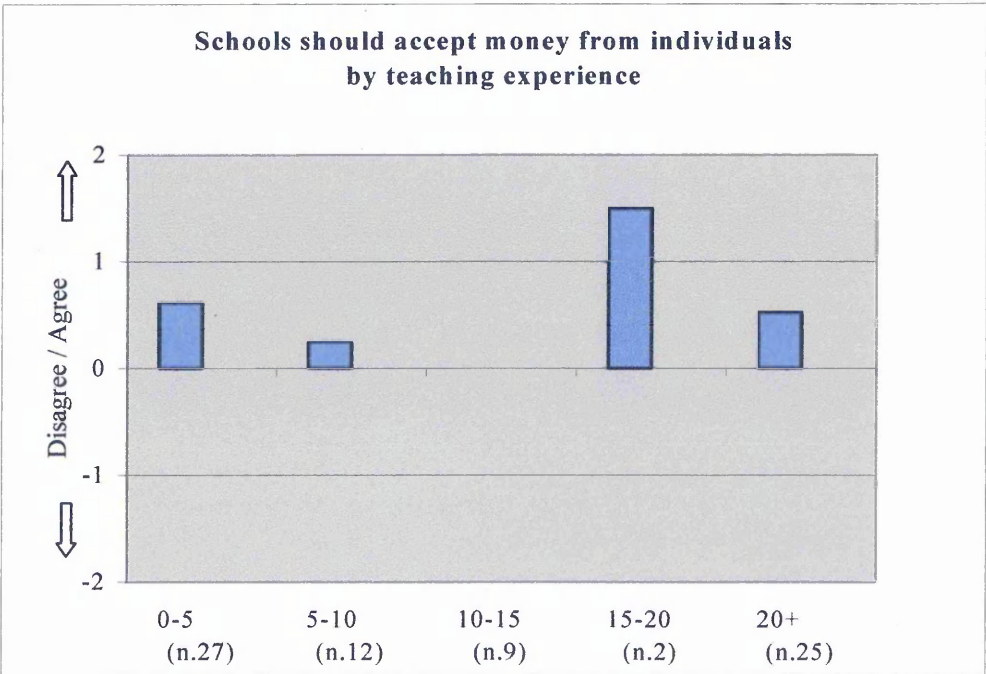
My aim in this statement was to see if there was any variation in feeling if the money received was coming from an individual, rather than a company, as this might imply a higher level of engagement on the part of the sponsor. I am not certain if the subtlety of the statement was apparent to all respondents but there was a higher proportion of respondents averse to the statement – 13 out of 75.

The average results for individual case study schools and for both together (Figure 6.6) were less positive about individual sponsorship than for company sponsorship (Figure 6.2)



**Figure 6.6 Schools should accept money from individuals
– all respondents**

The results analysed by experience show that those most willing to accept sponsorship had considerable experience (Figure 6.7):



**Figure 6.7 Schools should accept money from individuals
– by experience**

Middle and senior managers were most keen (Figure 6.8):

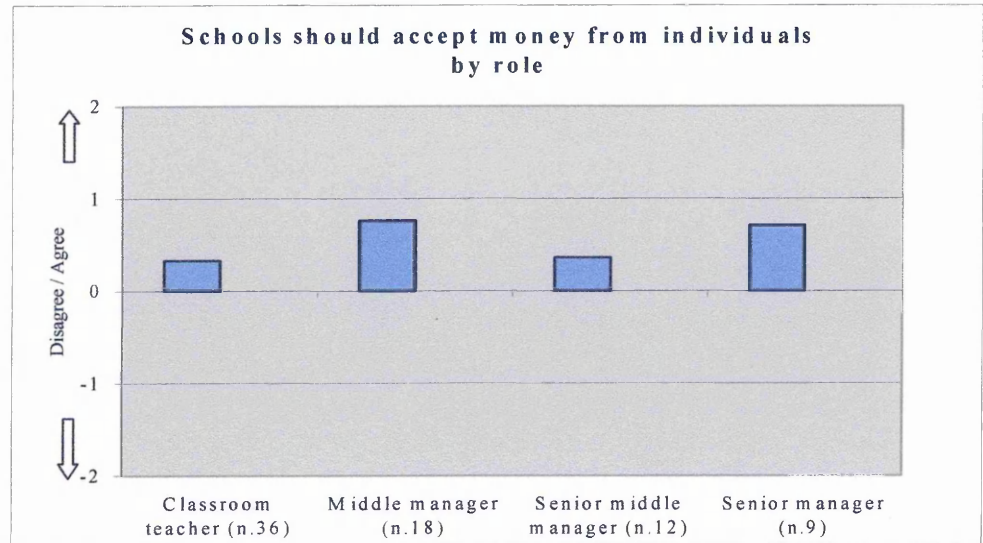


Figure 6.8 Schools should accept money from individuals - by role

Individual comments were made on this statement but they were identical to those already cited for Statement 1.

The feeling to this statement was again generally positive but less so than for Statement 1, perhaps because of worries about interference such as those mentioned in my review of the literature on business sponsorship. Middle managers and those with 15-20 years of experience (often the same respondent) are the keenest to take the money.

Statement 3: Sponsors should have no influence on the running of the school.

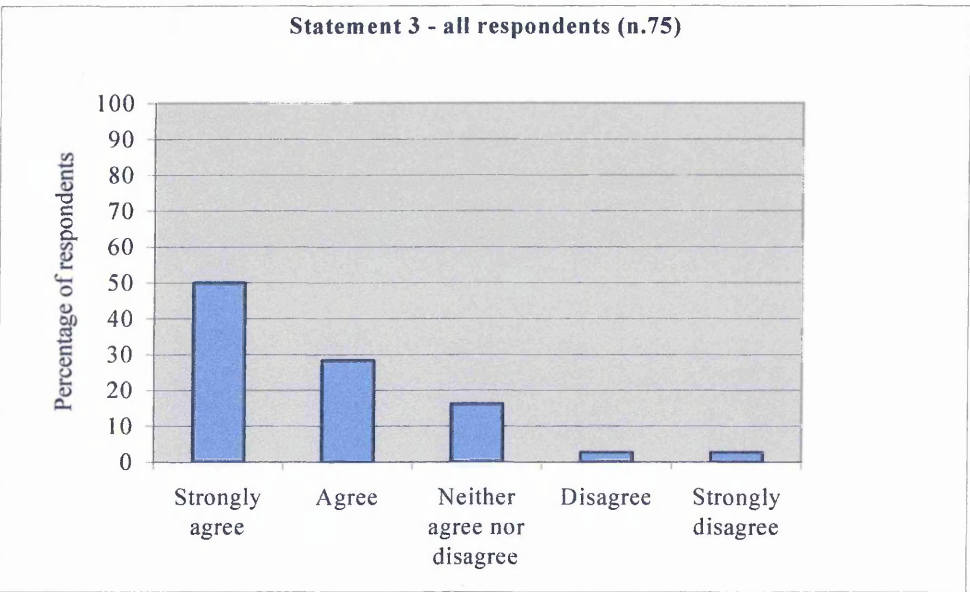


Figure 6.9 Statement 3 – all respondents

Teachers feel that sponsors should have no say in managing the school.

This statement was deliberately phrased in a negative fashion to prevent the respondents inferring any views I might have, and to discourage them from skimming through the section.

Only 4 of the 75 disagreed with the statement and by implication were not averse to sponsors having influence on the management of the school (Figure 6.9).

The average results for individual case study schools, and for both together were consistent in rejecting sponsor influence (Figure 6.10):

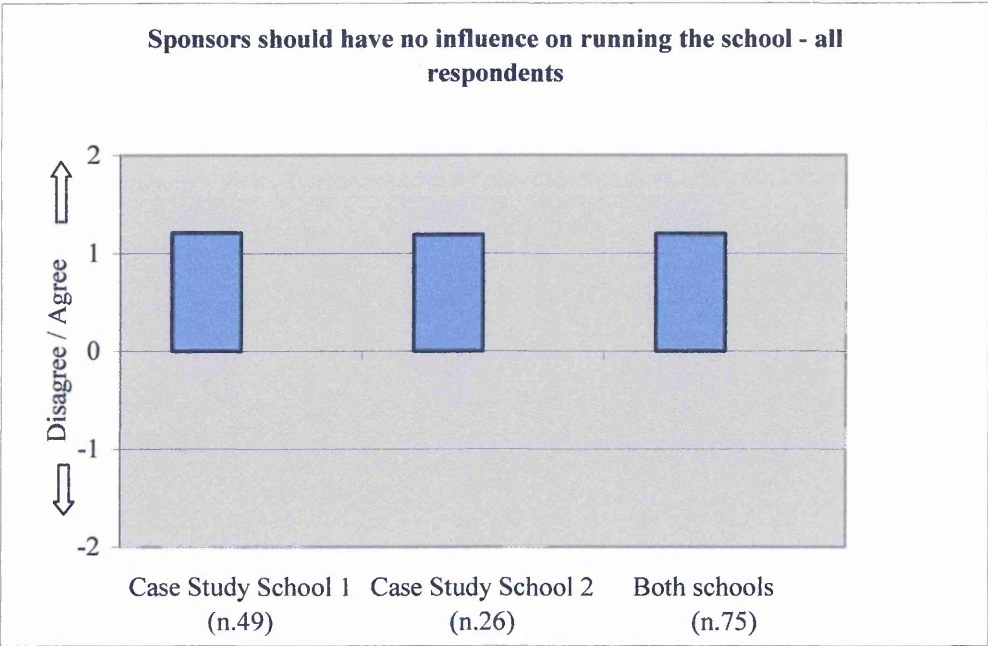


Figure 6.10 Sponsors should have no influence on running the school - all respondents

The results analysed by experience showed that those in the early and latter parts of their careers were most unhappy about sponsor influence (Figure 6.11):

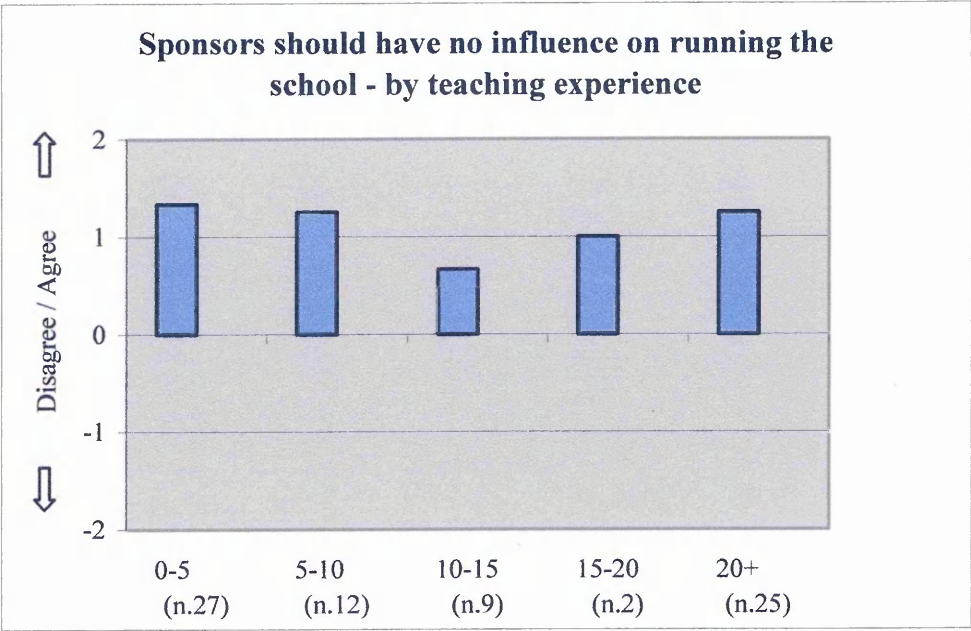


Figure 6.11 Sponsors should have no influence on running the school – by experience

The results by role show that those with most authority are the least averse to sponsor influence (Figure 6.12):

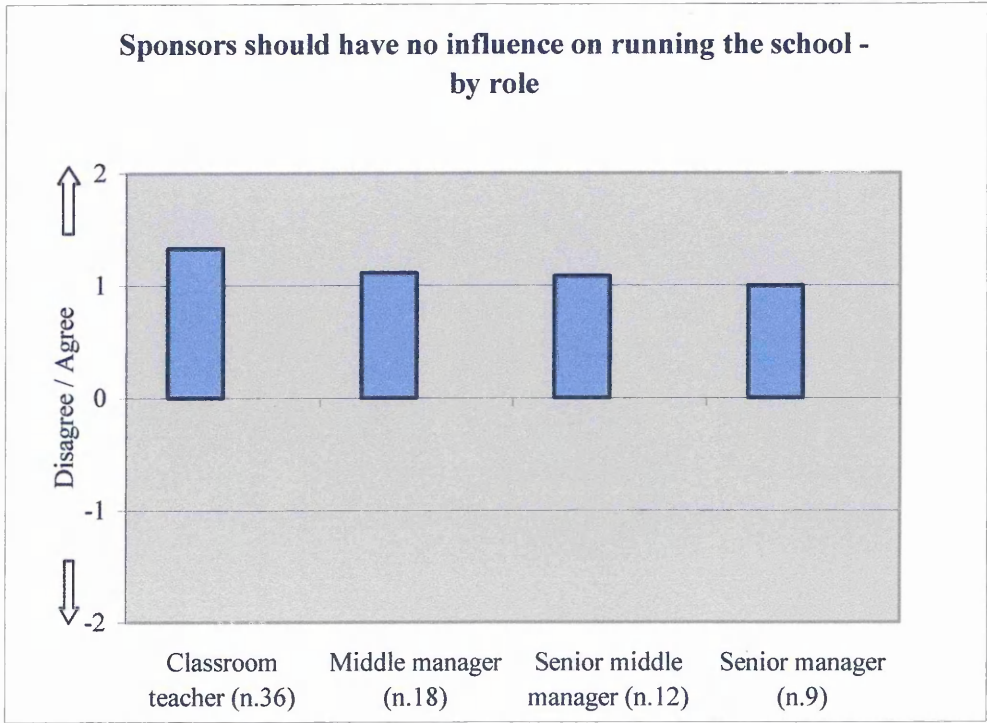


Figure 6.12 Sponsors should have no influence on running the school – by role

One respondent commented

“(sponsors) could contribute through a broader group, e.g. governors, but not as a discrete body.” (2/100)

There were strong feelings that sponsors should not influence the running of the school, yet the least strong feelings were amongst senior leaders. One idea to follow up at another time would be whether this is because they are more used to dealing with non-educational professionals having a say in the management of the school through their contact with governing bodies.

Statement 4: Sponsors should have a say in appointing the school’s leadership⁶.

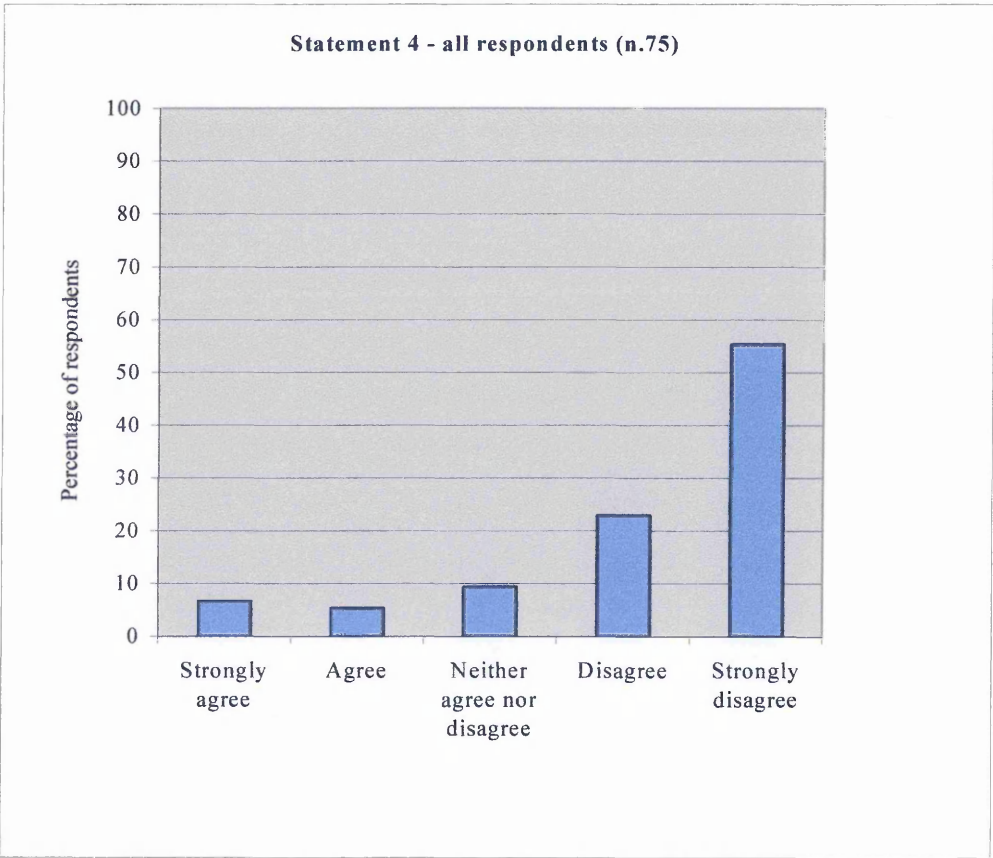


Figure 6.13 Statement 4 – all respondents

Teachers do not feel that sponsors should appoint school leaders.

Only 7 of the 75 replies agreed with this statement (Figure 6.13).

The average results for individual case study schools, and for both together (Figure 6.14) were consistent in rejecting the statement:

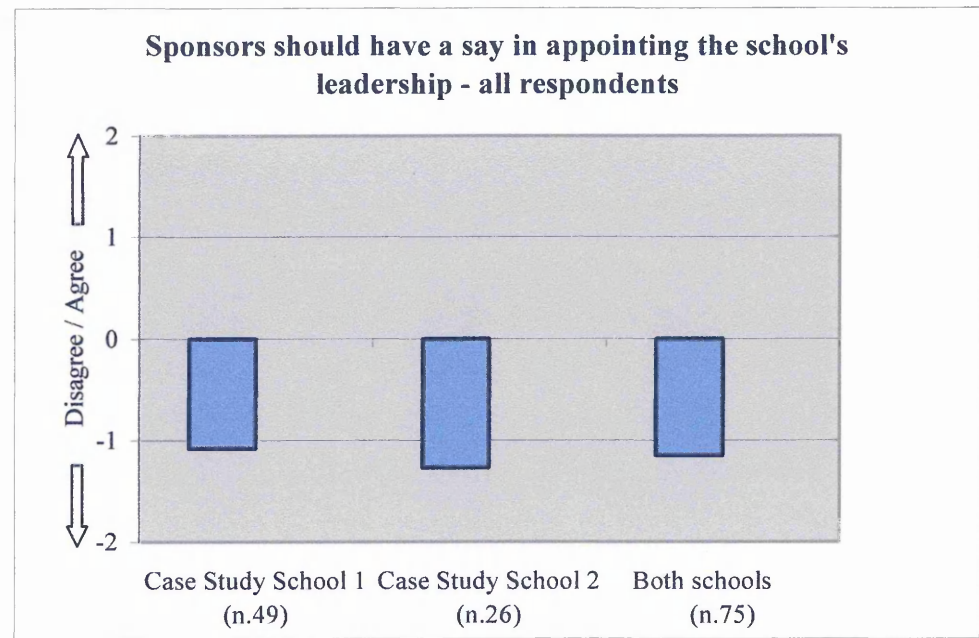


Figure 6.14 Sponsors should have a say in appointing the school's leadership - all respondents

The results analysed by experience (Figure 6.15) showed those in mid-career to be most against sponsors appointing leaders:

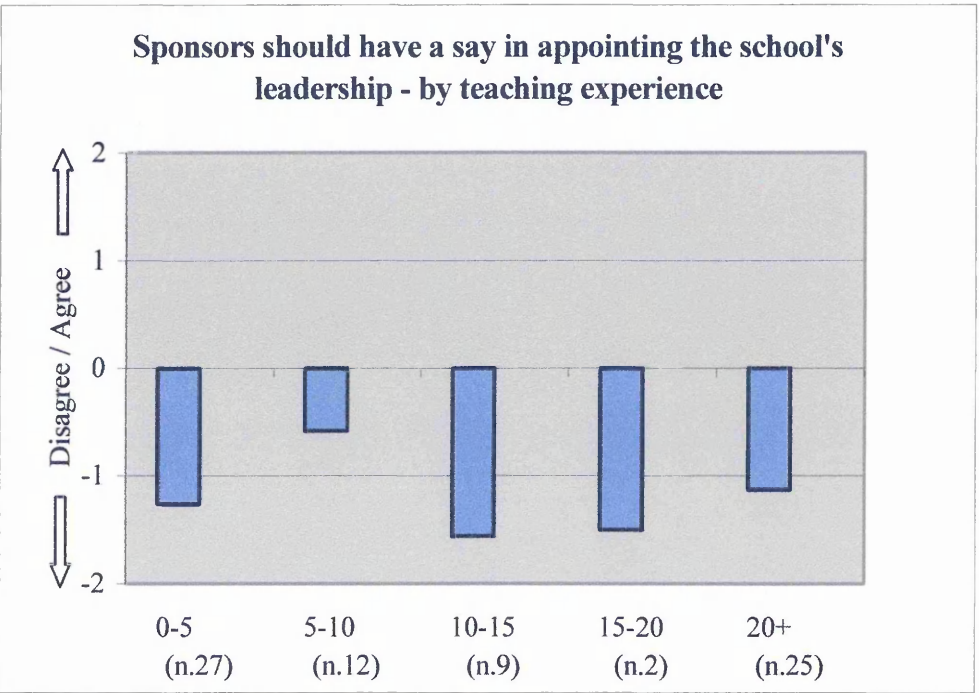


Figure 6.15 Sponsors should have a say in appointing the school's leadership – by experience

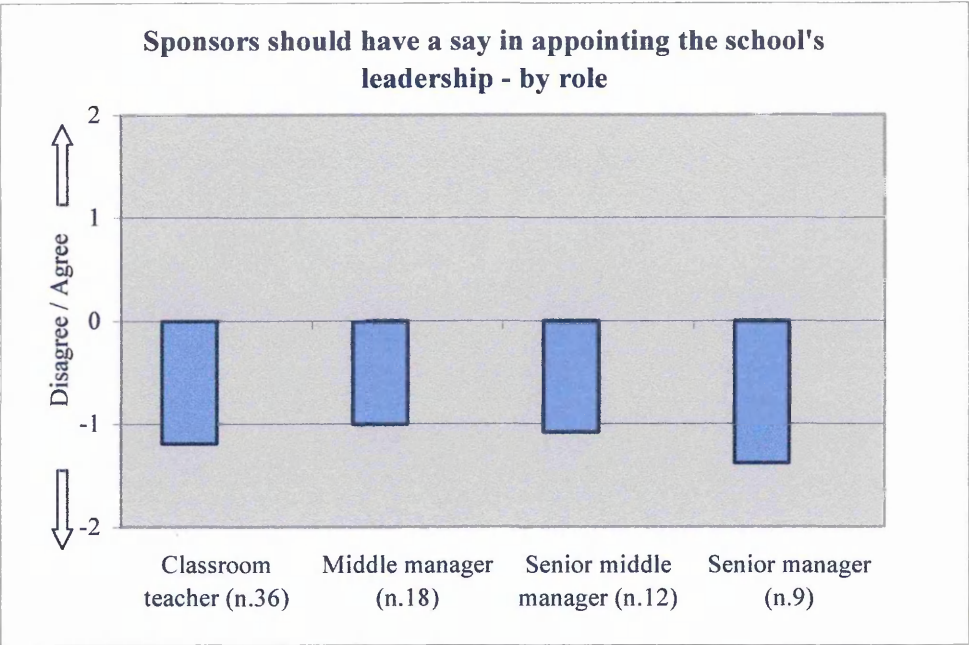


Figure 6.16 Sponsors should have a say in appointing the school's leadership – by role

Respondents were strongly negative to sponsors being involved in the appointment of members of the senior leadership. It is understandable that senior leaders themselves were most negative (Figure 6.16).

Statement 5: Sponsors should have no say in appointing all the school's staff.

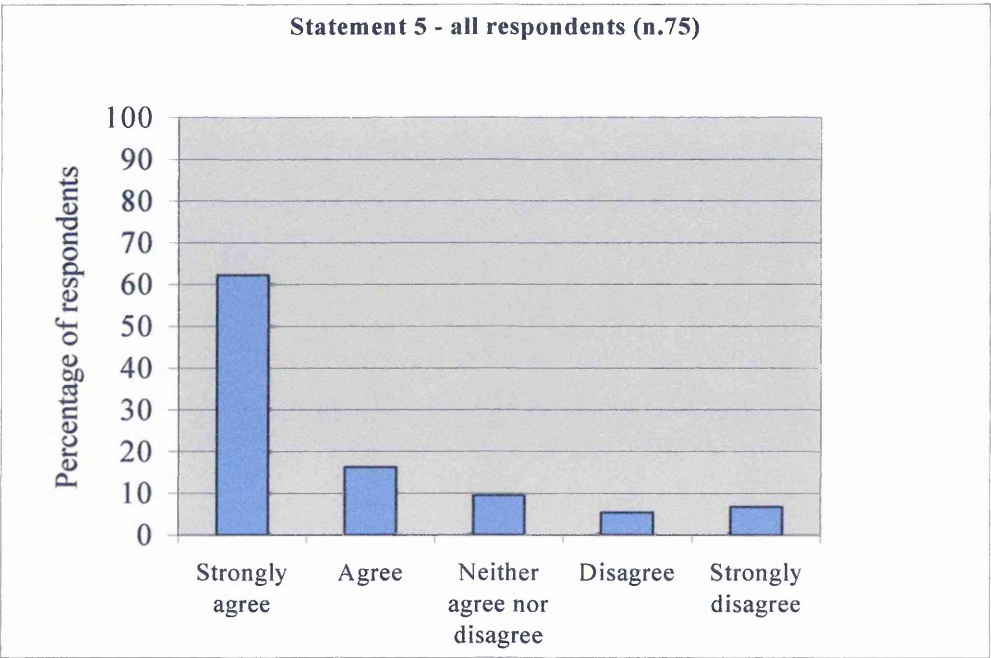


Figure 6.17 Statement 5 – all respondents

Teachers generally feel that sponsors should not appoint school staff.

9 of the 75 respondents (Figure 6.17) disagreed with this statement although one respondent felt that

“It depends on the nature of the sponsorship.” (2/4)

The average results for individual case study schools, and for both together (Figure 6.18) were consistent in opposing sponsor appointment of staff:

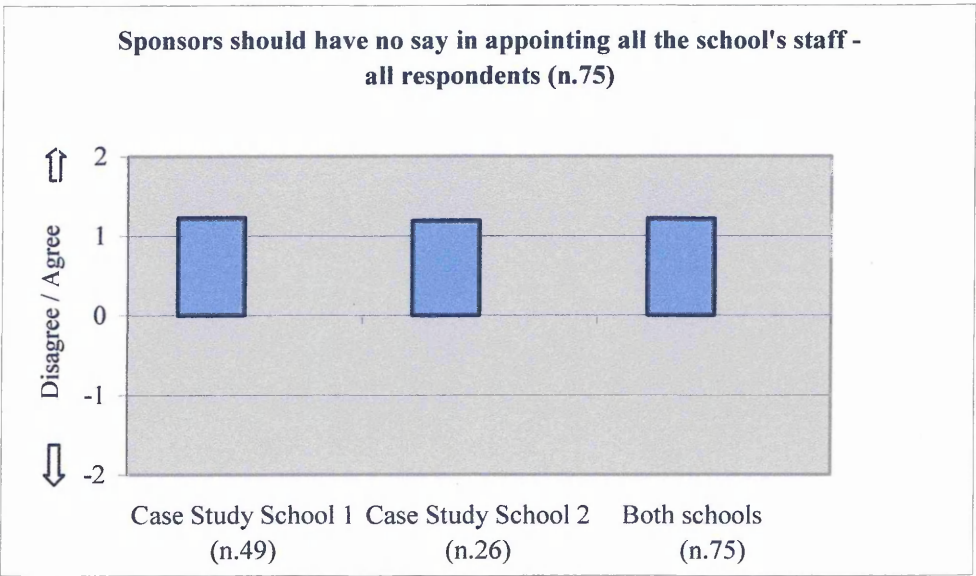


Figure 6.18 Sponsors should have no say in appointing all the school’s staff – all respondents

The results analysed by experience (Figure 6.19) showed that in contrast to the appointment of leaders (Figure 6.15) those in mid-career were most tolerant of sponsors appointing staff:

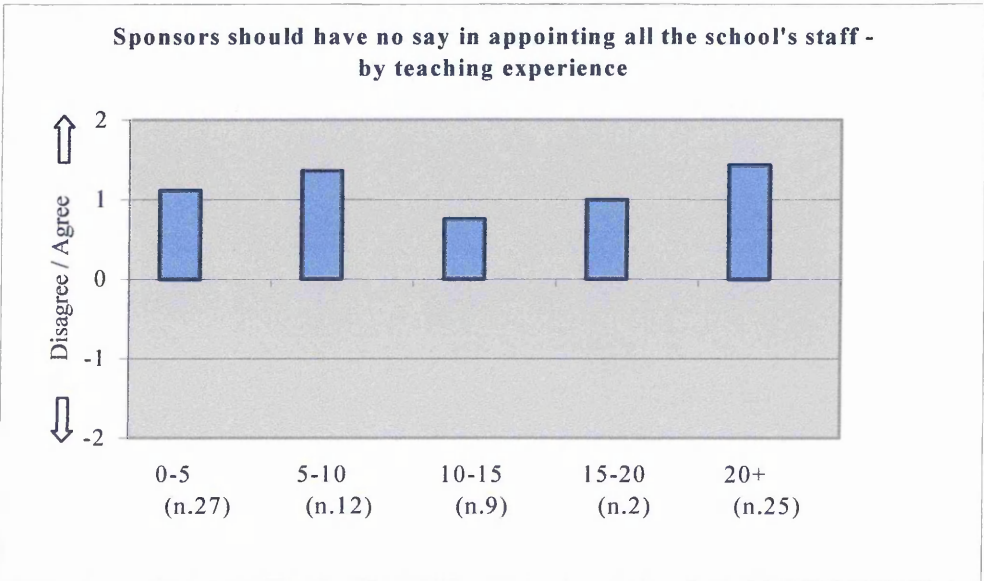


Figure 6.19 Sponsors should have no say in appointing all the school’s staff – by experience

The results by role (Figure 6.20) show a greater acceptance by senior managers of sponsors appointing staff than leaders (Figure 6.16):

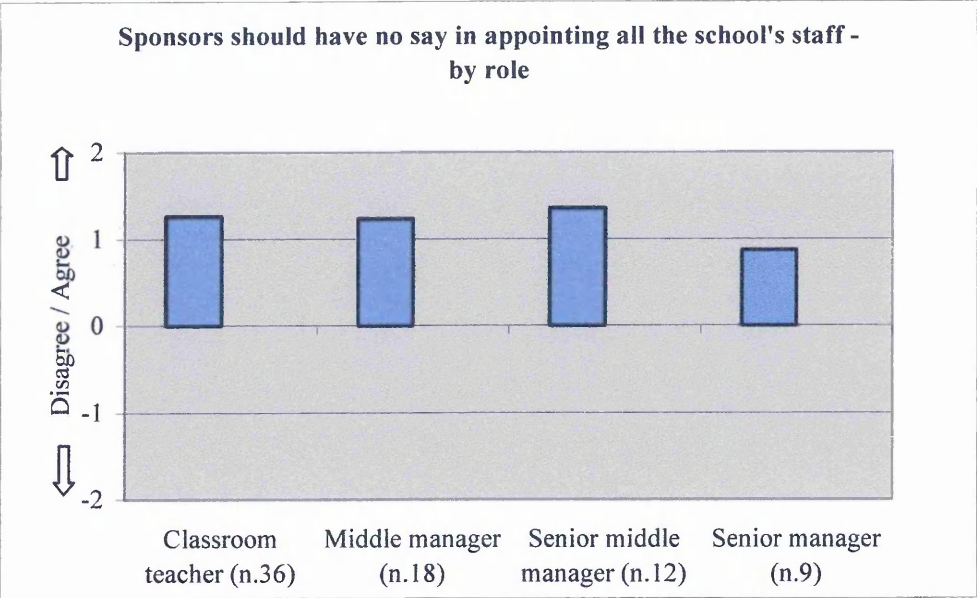


Figure 6.20 Sponsors should have no say in appointing all the school's staff – by role

As with the appointment of senior leaders, respondents were very negative to the idea of sponsors appointing staff. Senior managers are less worried – those who are more worried may be those likely to be appointed.

Statement 6: Sponsors should be represented on the governing body.

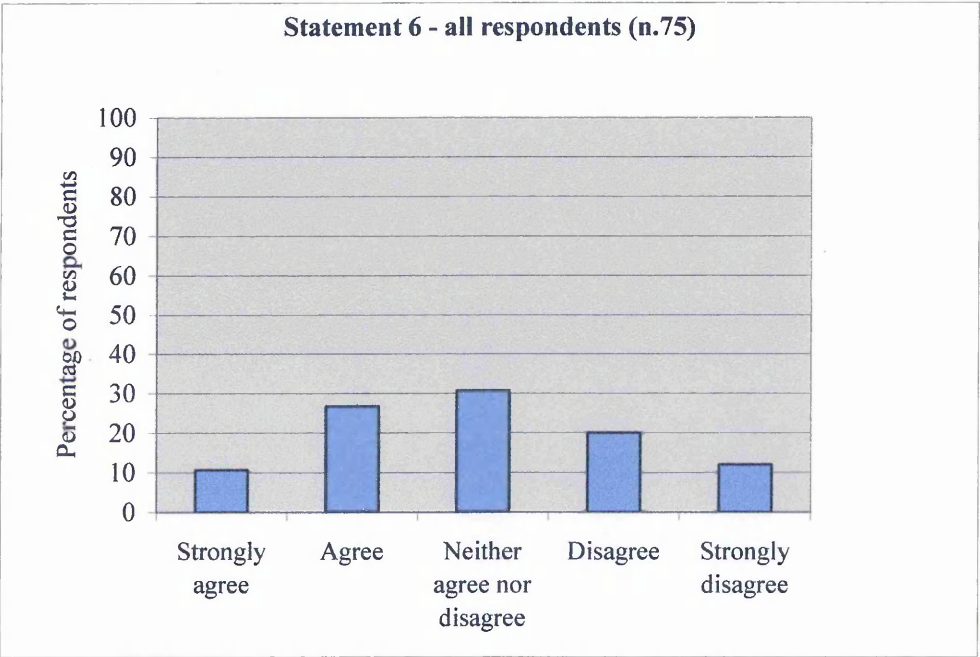


Figure 6.21 Statement 6 – all respondents

Teachers are split about whether sponsors should be represented amongst governors.

This statement was included as it represented the government’s intention for the future of schools under its latest proposals.

28 of the 75 replies were in favour of this statement and 24 against (Figure 6.21). The remainder expressed no feeling either way. As for the last statement the comment was made that

“It depends on the context of the sponsorship.” (2/4)

The average results for individual case study schools, and for both together are shown in Figure 6.22 and demonstrate no strong feeling for or against the statement:

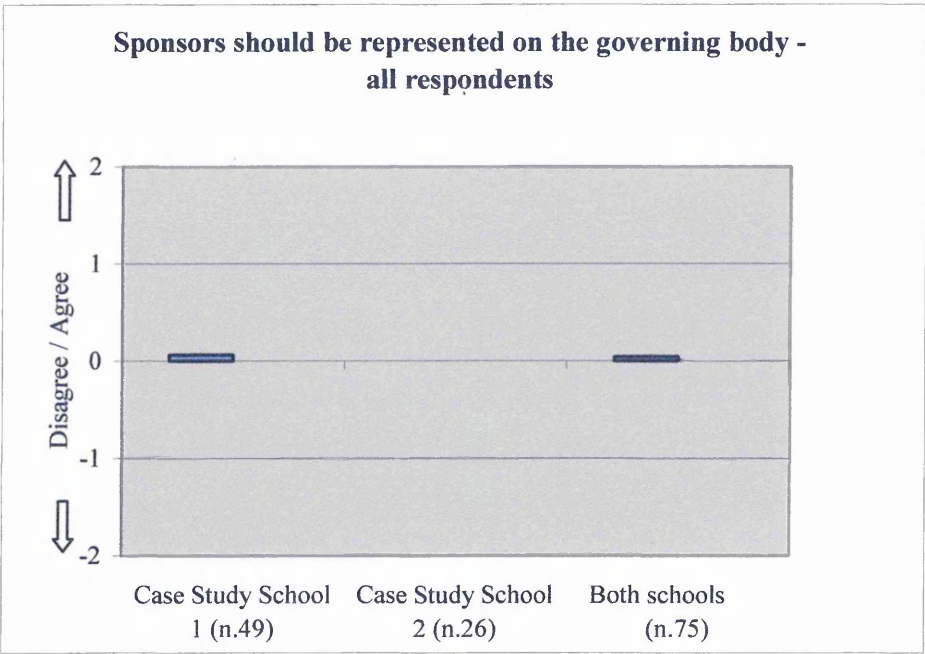


Figure 6.22 Sponsors should be represented on the governing body – all respondents

The results analysed by experience (Figure 6.23) show a greater strength of feeling amongst those in mid-career:

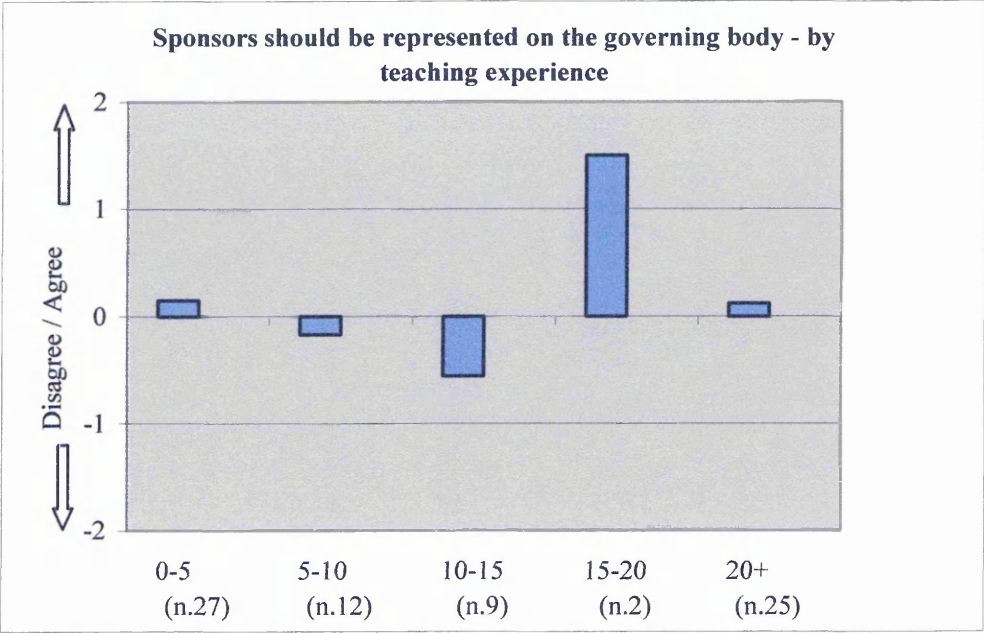


Figure 6.23 Sponsors should be represented on the governing body – by experience

The results by role (Figure 6.24) show a contrast in feeling between senior middle and senior managers:

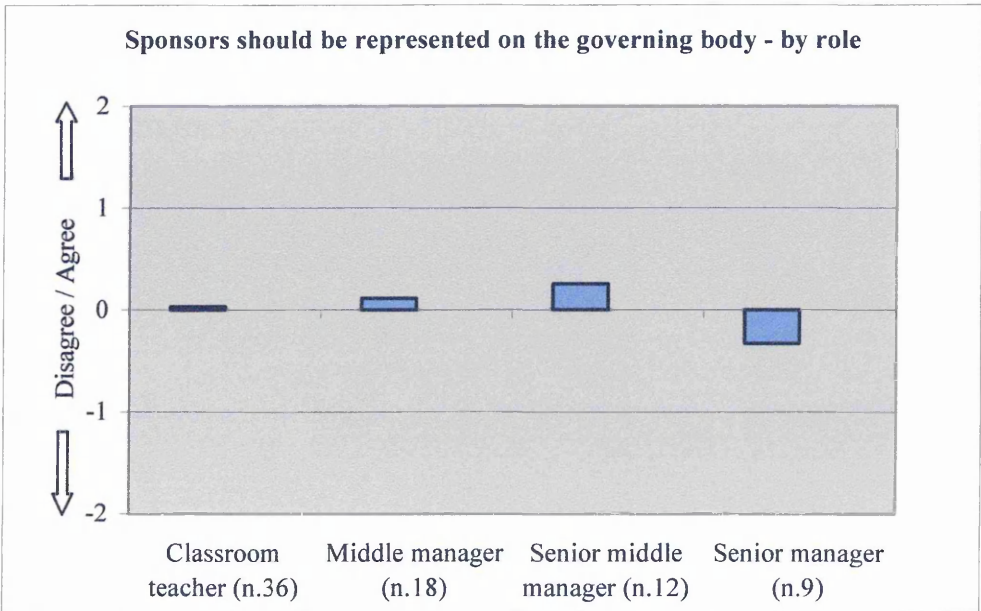


Figure 6.24 Sponsors should be represented on the governing body – by role

This appears to be a very balanced reply, which might reflect the apathy expressed towards the Governing Body in other parts of my research. The group, which has the strongest opinion, is senior leadership, which has the most experience of governing bodies.

Statement 7: Sponsors should have a say in the curriculum taught in the school.

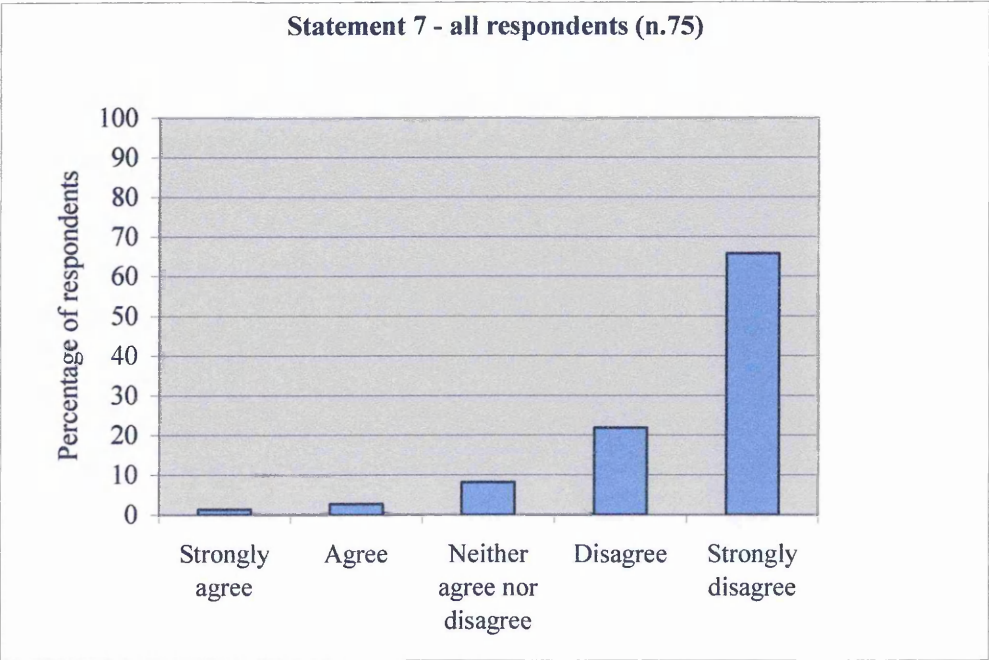


Figure 6.25 Statement 7 – all respondents

Teachers feel sponsors should have no say in what schools teach.

This statement was prompted by developments in the United States of America where certain sponsors have dictated what should be taught in some subjects.

Only 3 of the 75 respondents agreed with this statement (Figure 6.25).

The hostility to this statement is evident when the results are analysed by school (Figure 6.26), experience (Figure 6.27) and role (Figure 6.28).

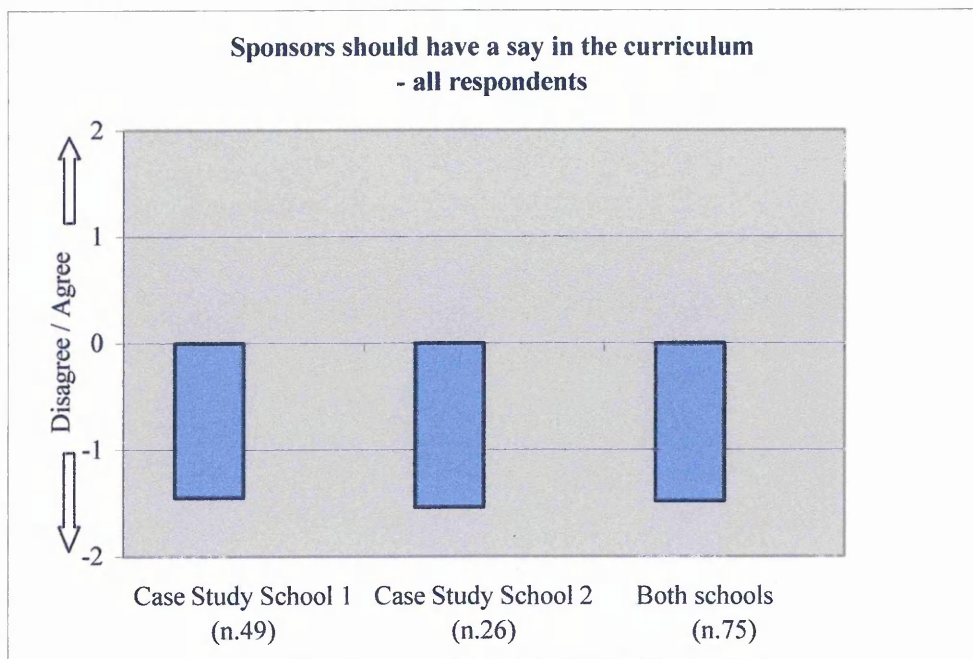


Figure 6.26 Sponsors should have a say in the curriculum
- all respondents

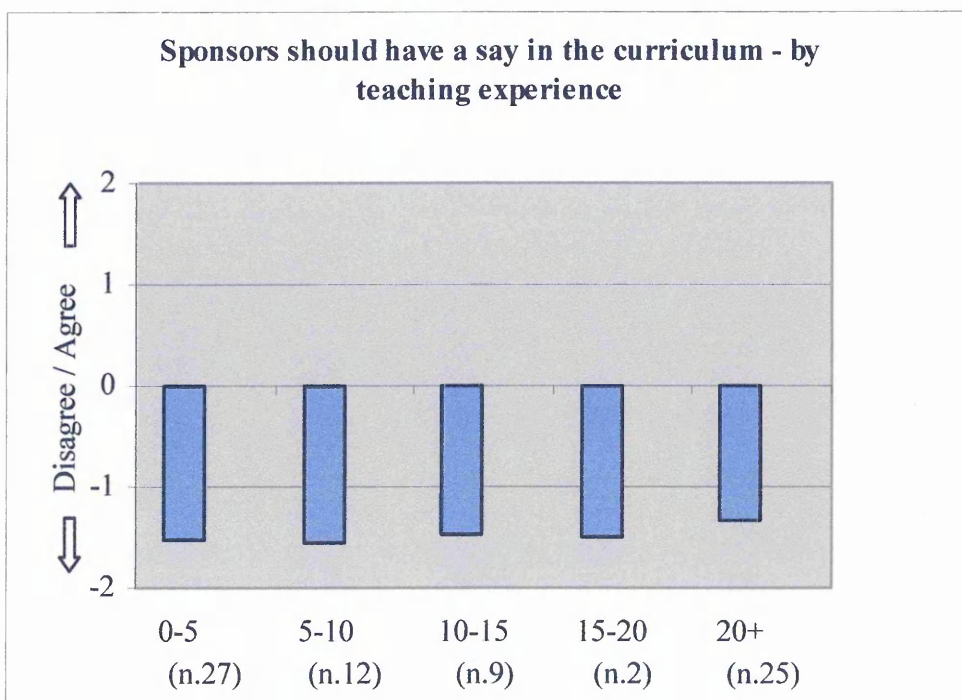


Figure 6.27 Sponsors should have a say in the curriculum
- by experience

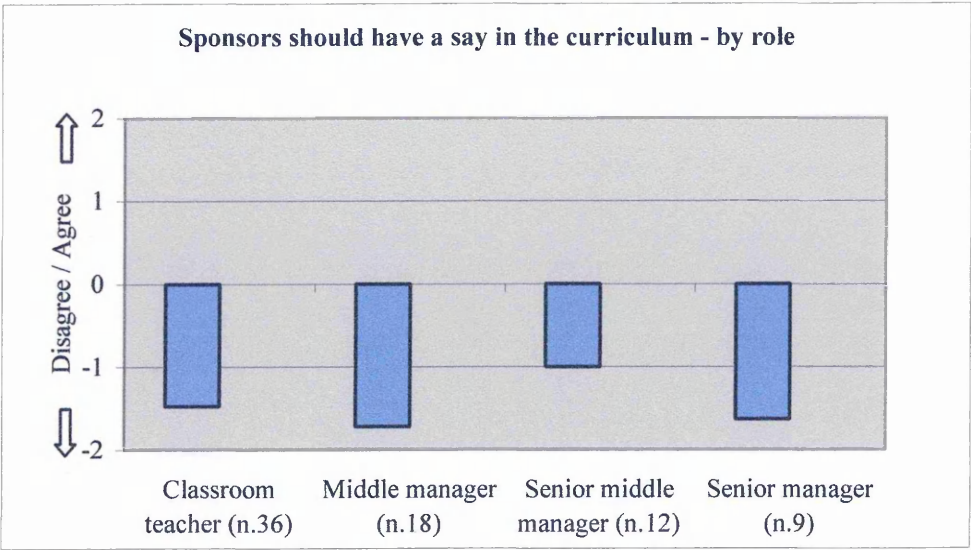


Figure 6.28 Sponsors should have a say in the curriculum - by role

Of the ten statements posed this provoked the most anti-business reaction, reflecting teachers’ protection of their specialist field of skills and knowledge – one of their main claims to professionalism.

Statement 8: Sponsors should not be allowed to promote their products within school.

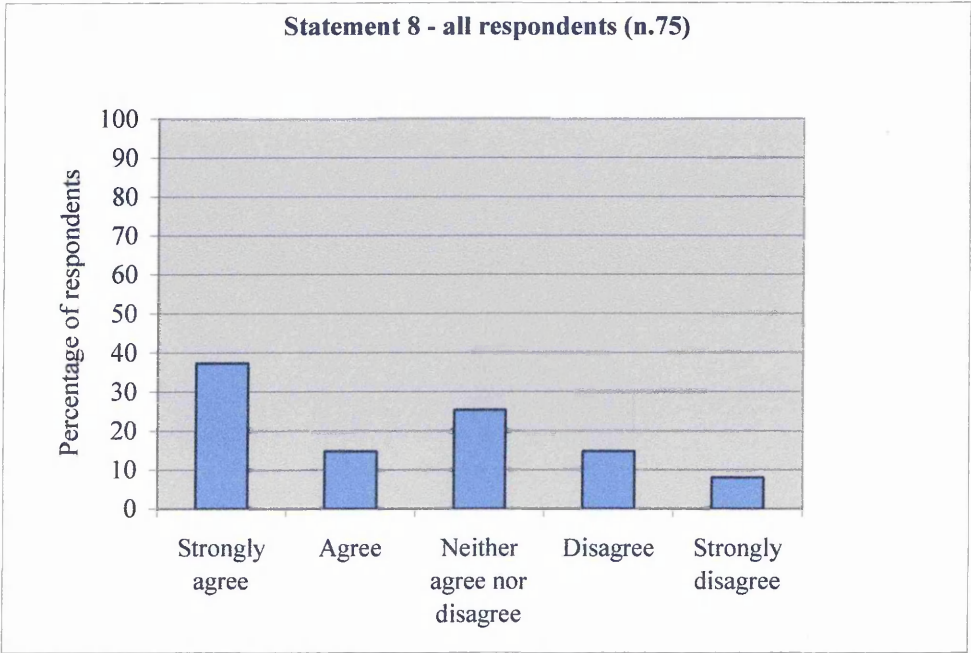


Figure 6.29 Statement 8 – all respondents

Teachers feel sponsors should not be allowed to promote their products in school.

This statement was prompted by firms in the United States of America who have banned rival companies’ products from schools they sponsor, and by controversy in the United Kingdom where companies have produced advertising material to be used in lessons or to be displayed around the school which bears a message contrary to accepted wisdom – for example the case quoted in my literature review of a confectionery company using sports goods to promote its products.

Views were split, with 39 respondents agreeing with a ban and 17 disagreeing (Figure 6.29). As with Statements 5 and 6, there was a comment that

“It depends what it is.” (2/6)

The average results for individual case study schools, and for both together (Figure 6.30) demonstrate this uncertainty:

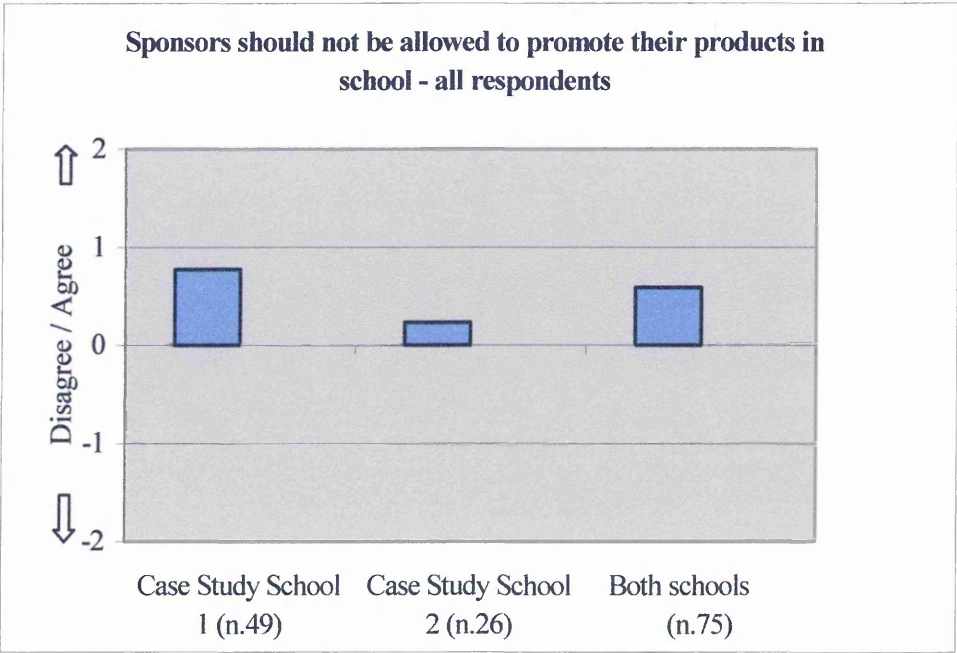


Figure 6.30 Sponsors should not be allowed to promote their products within school – all respondents

The results analysed by experience (Figure 6.31) and by role (Figure 6.32) stress a wariness of sponsors profiteering from schools, but there were noticeable differences, such as those between senior middle and senior managers:

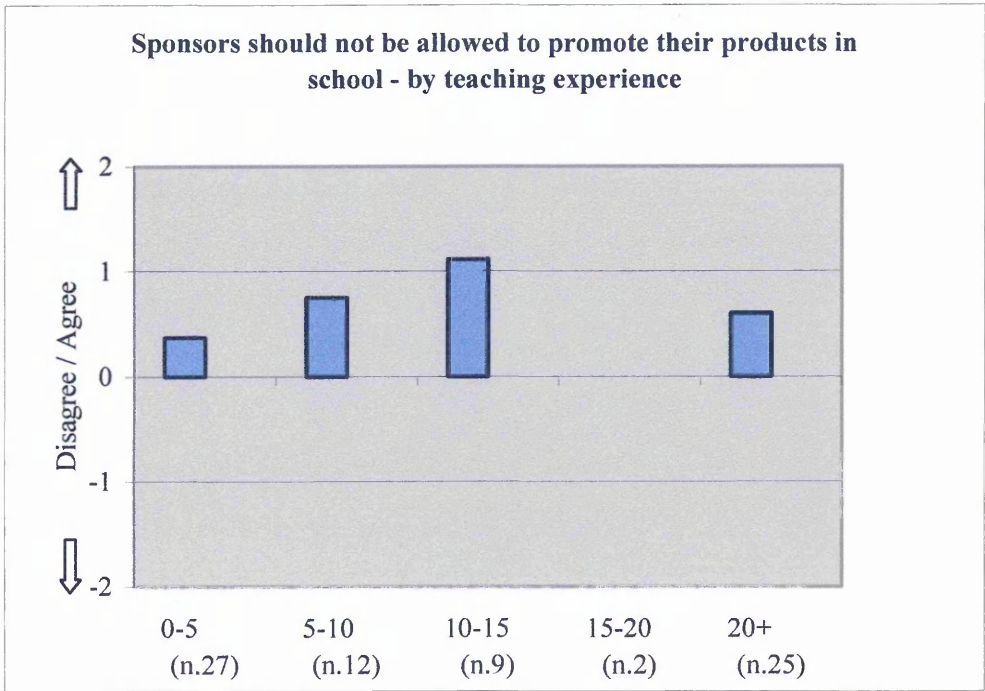


Figure 6.31 Sponsors should not be allowed to promote their products within school – by experience

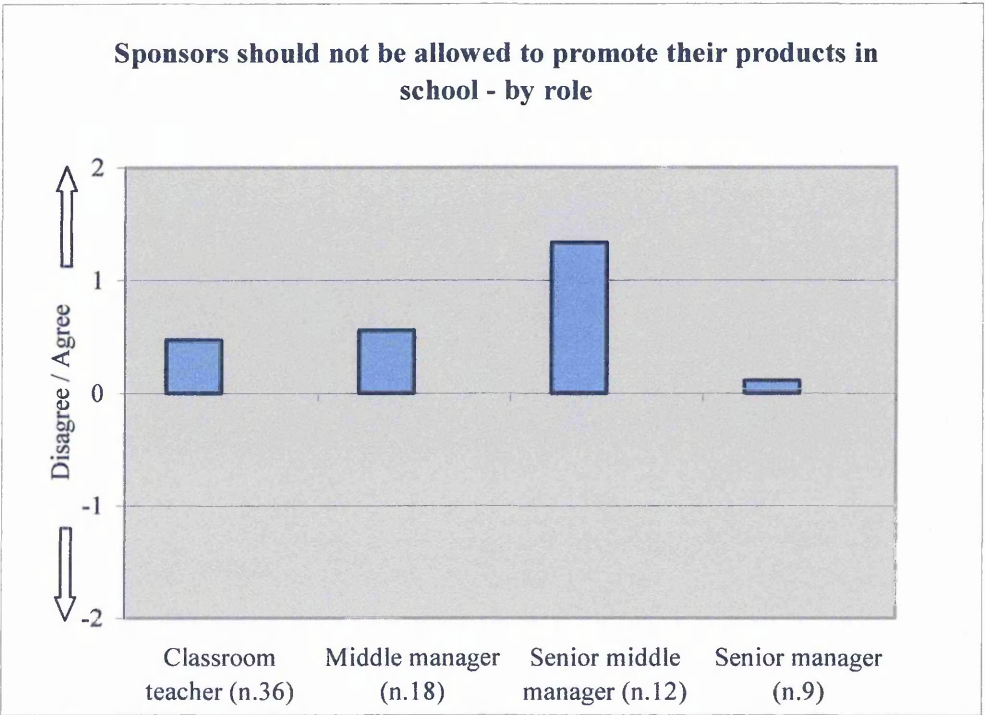


Figure 6.32 Sponsors should not be allowed to promote their products within school – by role

Whilst general feeling is one of negativity to business promoting their products in school, this is least amongst senior leaders who see a possibility of exploiting a means of increasing resources. This is expressed by one senior leader

“I agree that there is the potential for them to make a valuable contribution but this is not the same as saying they should have the right.” (2/100)

Statement 9: Business experience can improve the management of schools.

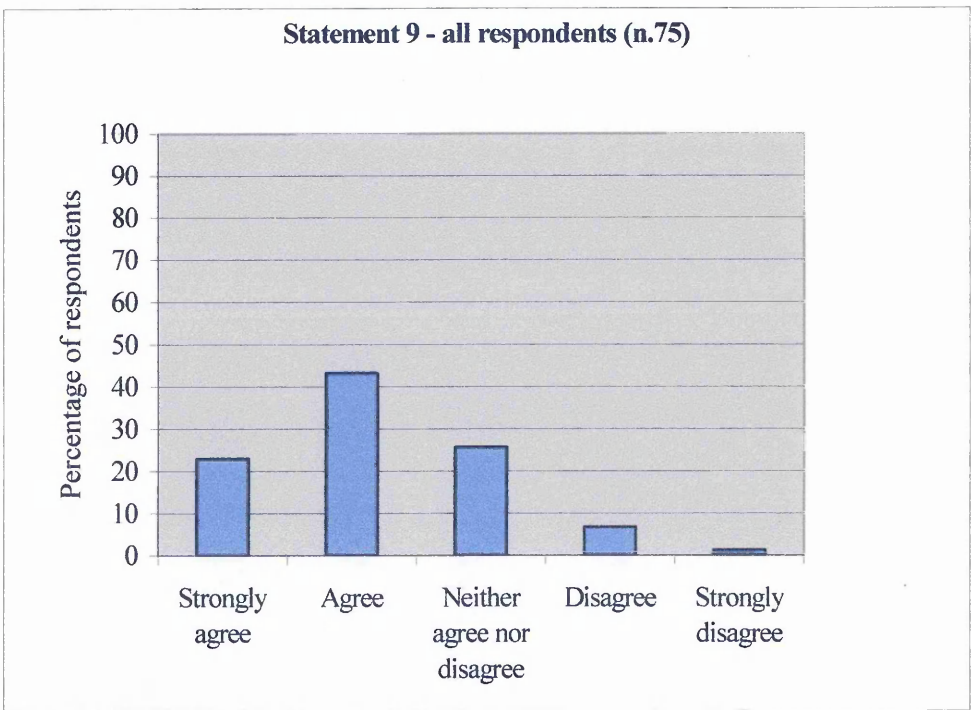


Figure 6.33 Statement 9 – all respondents

Teachers feel that schools can benefit from sponsors’ business experience.

This has been at the root of business’ claim to be involved in education from the criticisms of schools’ poor performance in the late 1970s, and it appears to be accepted widely amongst teachers. Despite the negative views expressed to previous statements, 49 respondents agreed with this statement compared with only 6 who disagreed (Figure 6.33).

The average results for individual case study schools, and for both together (Figure 6.34) confirm this, although the most experienced were the least supportive (Figure 6.35):

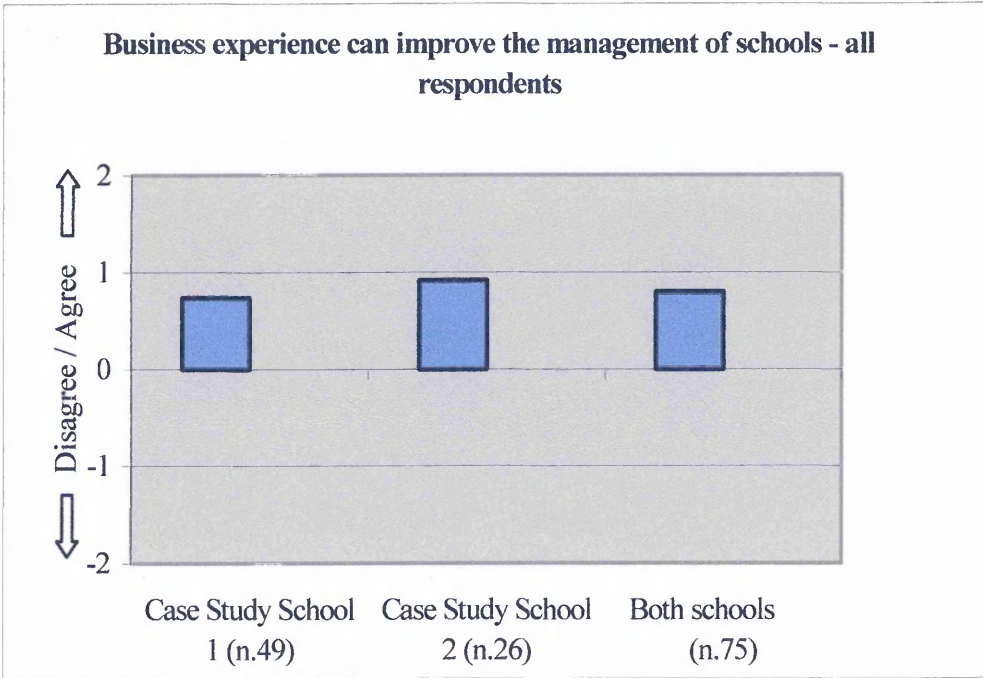


Figure 6.34 Business experience can improve the management of schools – all respondents

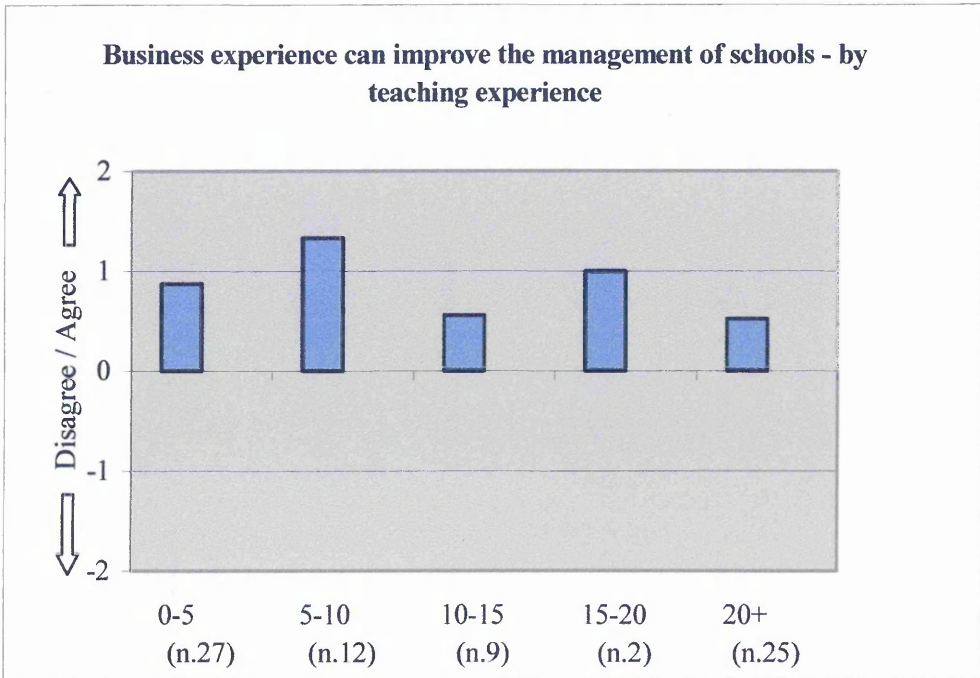


Figure 6.35 Business experience can improve the management of schools – by experience

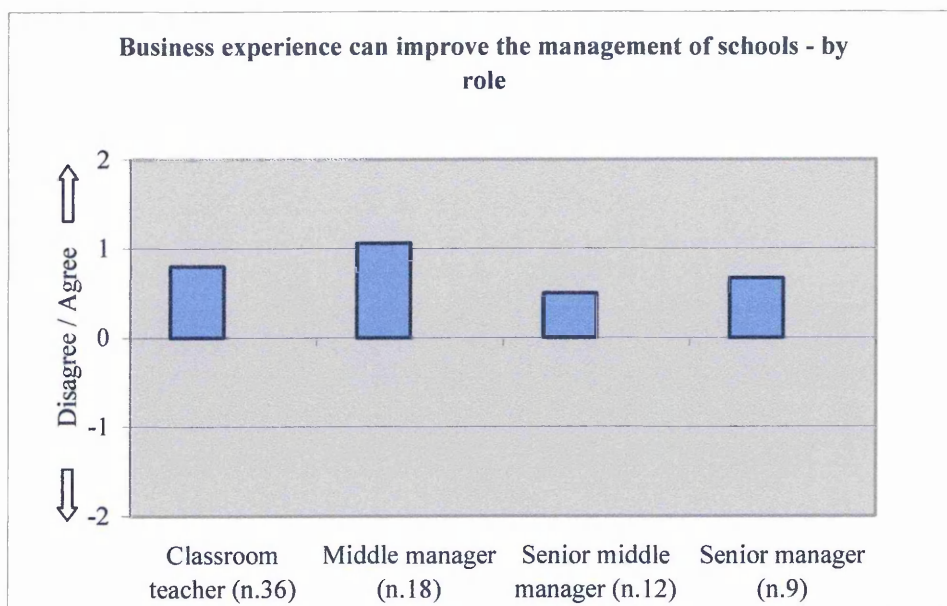


Figure 6.36 Business experience can improve the management of schools – by role

Although teachers are unwilling to accept business interference in what they see as schoolwork, they are in favour of exploiting management skills. Those whose current management fields might be most under threat are the least positive (Figure 6.36).

Statement 10: Business sponsorship creates unfair differences between state schools.

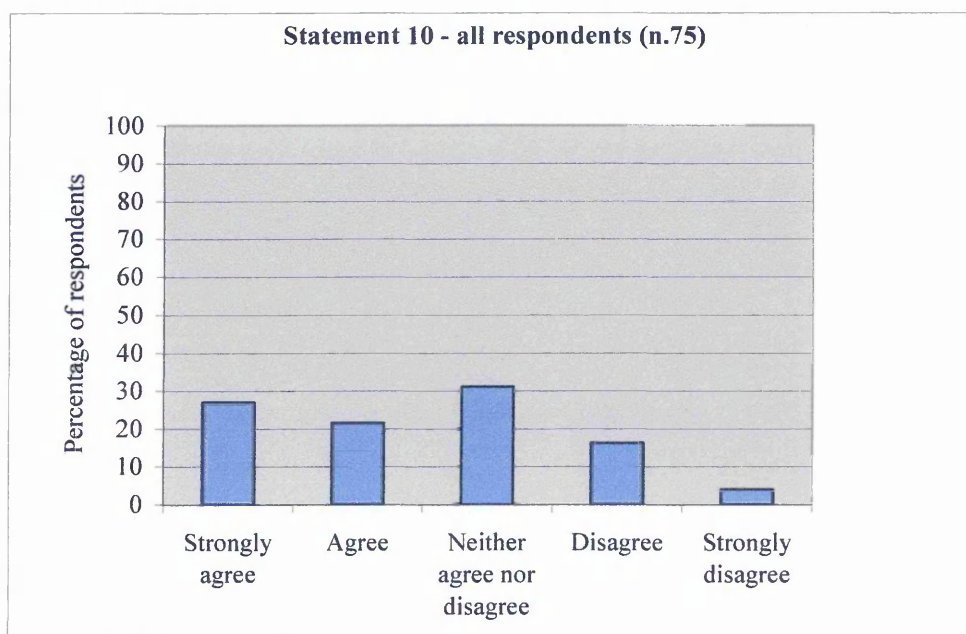


Figure 6.37 Statement 10 – all respondents

Teachers feel that business sponsorship causes inequality but are willing to accept it.

Many of the critics of business involvement take an egalitarian standpoint. This was the prevailing view amongst respondents. Only 15 of the 75 disagreed with this statement (Figure 6.37).

The average results for individual case study schools, and for both together (Figure 6.38) were consistent, as was the analysis by role (Figure 6.40). Analysis by experience (Figure 6.39) however showed more concern amongst the experienced teachers.

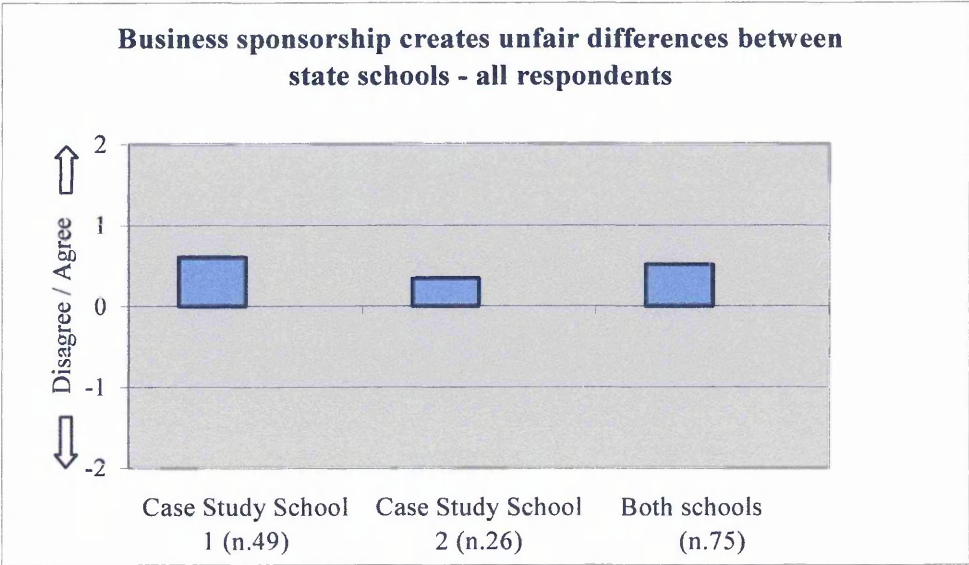


Figure 6.38 Business sponsorship creates unfair differences between state schools – all respondents

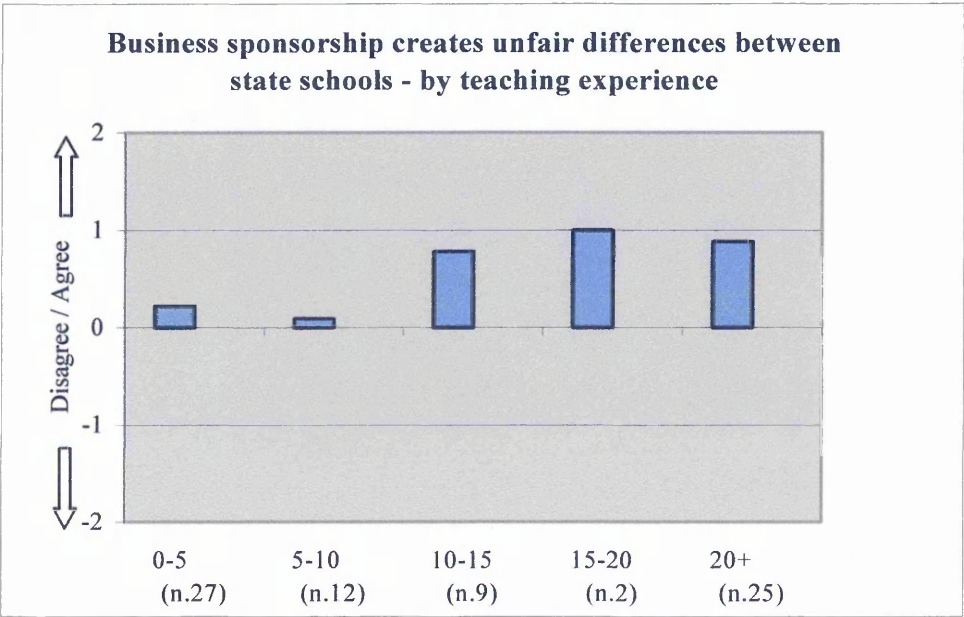


Figure 6.39 Business sponsorship creates unfair differences between state schools – by experience

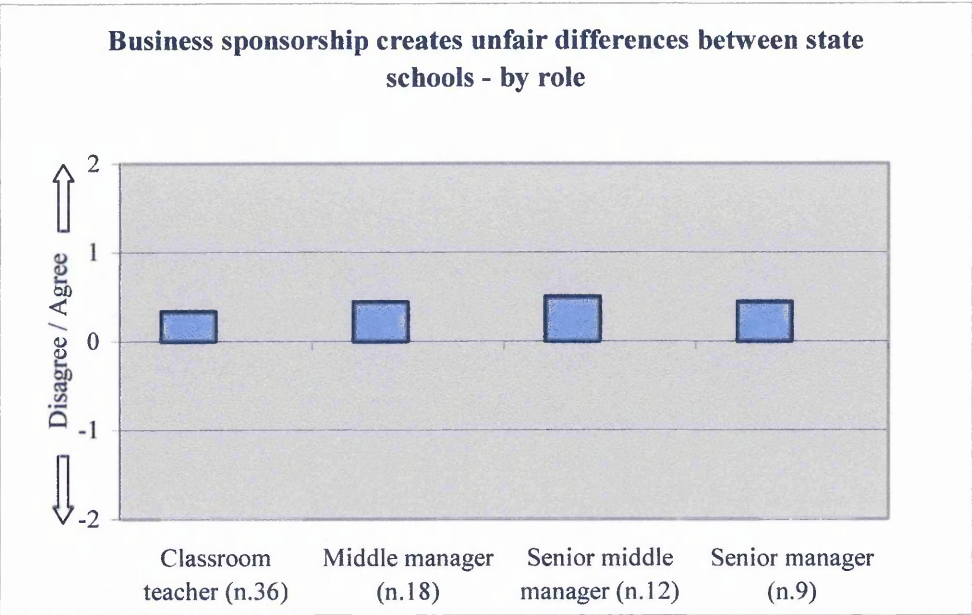


Figure 6.40 Business sponsorship creates unfair differences between state schools – by role

Whilst there is a definite feeling that sponsorship might cause injustice, as this initiative spreads there is more acceptance.

“It does but we all are at liberty to jump on this band wagon if we believe it’s right for the school.” (2/40)

Teachers and business

The results from the interviews and the ten statements above demonstrate the confusion in teachers’ minds about the appropriateness of business involvement. This expressed by two contrasting comments

“Sponsorship should have no part to play in state education whatsoever.” (2/11)

“I think business management and leadership styles can be incorporated very effectively into schools. Plus, businesses are able to direct students to a more vocational, work based route if necessary for some pupils. Some businesses are inspirational and allow students more familiarity with the work place – therefore pupils may see more of the purpose behind learning.” (2/62)

This confusion can also be shown by plotting all the results from the statements above, but showing the scores (positive and negative) on an “Anti-Business / Pro-Business” axis instead (Figure 6.41).

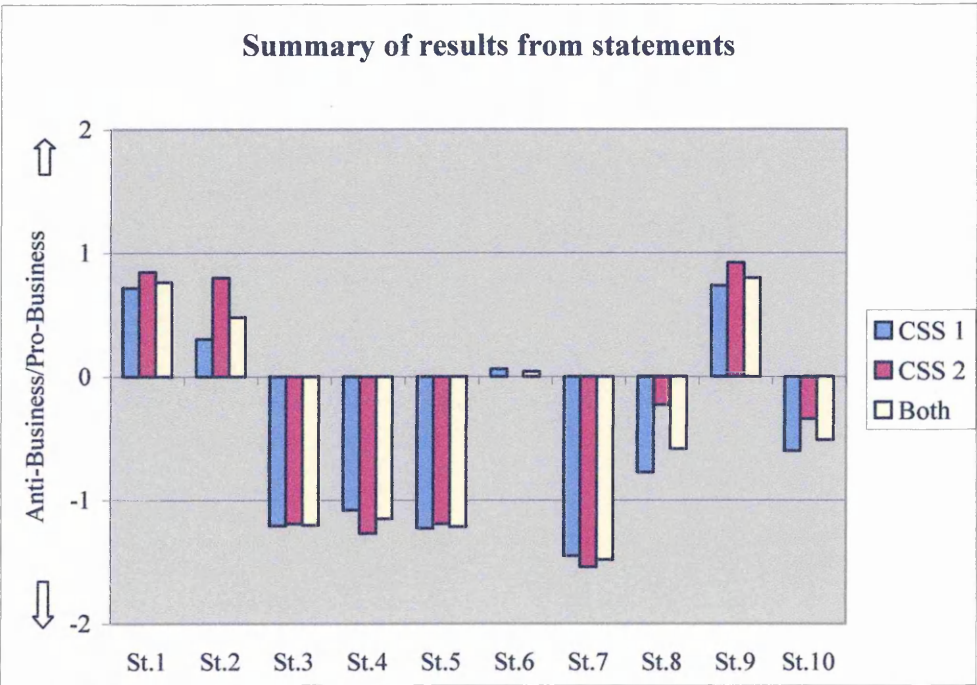


Figure 6.41 Summary of statements

There is a willingness to take business money (Statements 1 and 2), and an agreement that business expertise could be beneficial (Statement 9) but teachers are not willing to concede any power or influence in schools to business (Statements 3 to 8 and 10). This is a picture of school-business exploitation rather than business-school partnership.

What are teachers' feelings of professionalism?

Professionalism and my findings

Professional accountability was the type of accountability most cited by respondents in my surveys in the specialist case study schools. My review of the literature in Chapter 2 and the comments of interviewees also emphasised the influence of teachers' professionalism on their sense of accountability. I therefore identified three issues for consideration in order to understand more about teachers' sense of professionalism.

Within my research I look at staff motivation for becoming a teacher. Hoyle (1969) saw one barrier to professionalism being a lack of commitment on the part of the graduate entering the profession – for many it was a second choice.

I then look at the question of whether any sense of professionalism held on entering teaching has increased or decreased – whether there has been a move towards proletarianisation as described by Walsh (1987).

Finally I consider if some government initiatives have contributed positively or negatively to a teacher's sense of being a professional.

Motivations for becoming a teacher

The notion of providing a service to society is the predominant feature of professionalism which attracts graduates into teaching.

Interviewees after the first survey were asked why they had become teachers. As Hoyle predicted there were examples of colleagues who had entered teaching as an after-thought, but having made the second choice commitment followed:

“It was really because I wasn’t doing a very fulfilling job at the time and I decided... some of my friends had ended up as teachers and I decided it would be quite a good idea if I investigated it myself... (*As a teacher*) I seemed to be putting something back in, as opposed to just going, and I was earning a pretty basis salary, and it wasn’t very challenging. Also I’d been to some secondary schools and I liked the interaction with children.” (Middle Manager Int.5)

“It wasn’t a calling for me to be honest. It was almost a necessity of desperation. I had a degree which I hadn’t used for a number of years. I’d been in retail and various jobs like that and in all of which I’d felt unfulfilled, and with a small family I needed to do something drastic...so in consultation with a careers advisor I went and applied to my old creative writing tutor... got in at the last minute and was lucky enough to get a placement at the girls’ school and got a good training.” (Classroom Teacher Int.9)

For the many there was a sense of service to society (one of Hoyle’s criteria for a profession):

“A family of teachers and I wanted to help children. I know it sounds trite...” (Classroom Teacher Int.1)

“Just a desire to work with children.” (Senior Middle Manager Int.3)

This sense of service was sometimes linked to other criteria of a profession, notably a desire for acquiring and using higher education qualifications, and a concentration on using a particular body of skills and knowledge:

“Originally I wanted to work with children but I also wanted to go away and get some sort of qualification, go away to train, so teaching seemed the obvious way I could do both, actually go away and get some sort of qualification and work with children at the same time.”
(Middle Manager Int.2)

“I actually did a TEFL course then realised after doing that the amount of satisfaction I got from that I thought it would be nicer to work with younger people and it led on from there really.” (Classroom Teacher Int.10)

“Because of the subject first... and because of the relationship I quite enjoy with the pupils.... young children.” (Classroom Teacher Int.11)

“A passion for my subject.” (Classroom Teacher Int.7)

“I just wanted to enthuse other children... like I was enthused for languages.” (Classroom Teacher Int.8)

None of those interviewed cited salary or autonomy as reasons for entering teaching. In this respect their expectations were more in line with those of what Bergen (1988) would describe as a semi-profession.

Professional or employee?

Teachers consider themselves to be professionals but are not consistent about the basis of their claim to professionalism.

Interviewees were asked if they considered themselves to be professionals. Without exception each considered herself or himself to be a professional but – recognising the complexity of equating a highly bureaucratised job as I have described in the previous chapter – their feelings of professionalism were dependent on other factors. Some felt that professionalism came only with experience, others that it was dependent on further study or taking on

responsibilities. Most felt that within their current roles there were activities which made them feel professional and some activities which left them feeling no more than employees.

“I don’t see it as going to work. I would say someone who goes to an office or a company has a job where they go to work. But I do see myself as a professional, sort of the old-fashioned doctor.” (Classroom Teacher Int.1)

“I definitely think of myself as a professional. I don’t think I did originally, but I think now I definitely think I am a professional....I think (*I feel more of a professional now*) probably because I’ve gone on to become a head of department and things like that, and we have more people that are in schools now, where we have lots of admin staff – I know they’re professionals in their own way – But I think that makes me feel more professional, and there’s a certain status we need to keep up.... We were just teachers. When I started I certainly didn’t think of myself as a professional, I just thought of myself as a teacher, and that’s what I did.” (Middle Manager Int.2)

“I think teaching is more of a profession because it is more of a way of life – it’s not just a job. You’ve got to have the right personality to be a teacher.” (Classroom Teacher Int.4)

“I see myself as a professional. More and more I see myself like that since I’ve been doing the studies (*an MA in Education*) ... and I do see myself as an employee and sometimes I feel that we’re not treated as professionals, and I feel a conflict between the two things.” (Middle Manager Int.5)

“(My MA studies make me feel more professional) because it has been a long time since I looked at some of the issues that are around. Certainly it’s been a long time since I unpacked any type of theory or situations and looked at different reasons why certain decisions have been made, ... The reason I’m doing this is ... because I actually like doing this job and I like being with the kids, but I do like teaching and I do want to develop, and I’d sort of lost a bit of that; you get a bit bogged down in marking, filling in bits of paper, and it sort of takes away, and that’s the bit which makes you feel like an employee..” (Middle Manager Int.5)

“I look upon it as a profession... It’s a job like any other, although obviously the attraction of the kids makes you feel it’s a slightly different role, you’re helping to benefit other people in a way you don’t get in some jobs... You get paid more for doing other jobs but there’s more responsibility and you have to use your brain, so I see it as a professional job.” (Middle Manager Int.6)

“Maybe a bit of both, especially now I’ve taken on this other role... (*Do your new responsibilities make you feel more professional?*) Yes, I think so.” (Classroom Teacher Int.7)

“I’m in the teaching profession. I conduct myself in a professional way and I’m serving the community.”
(Classroom Teacher Int.8)

“Sometimes it changes... When I’m at home planning or when I’m teaching in my classroom it’s different from when I’m in a meeting. It can change like that. I think that I try to be as professional as I can ... I consider myself to be a professional when I’m with the pupils, but sometimes

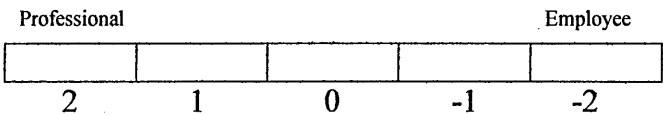
in a staff meeting when I'm told to do something I don't want to do....." (Classroom Teacher Int.9)

"It's more about a vocational thing... it's something you have to do because you really want to do it, not because you go there and work the hours you've got to work for the money you want to earn. It's more of a it's important not to think of yourself as an employee.... You're part of a team that is there to educate young people." (Classroom Teacher Int.10)

"Something I enjoy. I don't consider it as a proper jobTo me it looks like a hobby, even though I think it isn't very easy. ... A professional I'd say because you need to be responsible to cover quite a lot of things and you are accountable to peoplefamily, pupils and you've got a major role." (Classroom Teacher Int.11)

"I feel that I am responsible for my department and therefore I need to be professional to conduct my responsibility. I don't see myself as an employee because I feel an employee has to have day-to-day contact – with the LEA." (Senior Middle Manager Int.3)

In the second survey, following the comments made by interviewees above, staff in both case study schools were asked whether they had seen themselves primarily as professionals or employees when they had entered teaching. As mentioned in Chapter 3 they responded by choosing a box on a 5-point scale between professional and employee. For purposes of analysis this continuum was scored with 0 representing a midway point, 1 and 2 feelings of increased professionalism, and -1 and -2 increasing feelings of being an employee:



By turning feelings into a numerical indicator it was possible to calculate

average values both for the whole cohort in each school, but also for particular subsets.

On the scale above the average initial feeling of professionalism for all respondents in both case study schools was 0.99, and in each school individually the result was similar – Case Study School 1 0.94, Case Study School 2 1.08 (Figure 7.1).

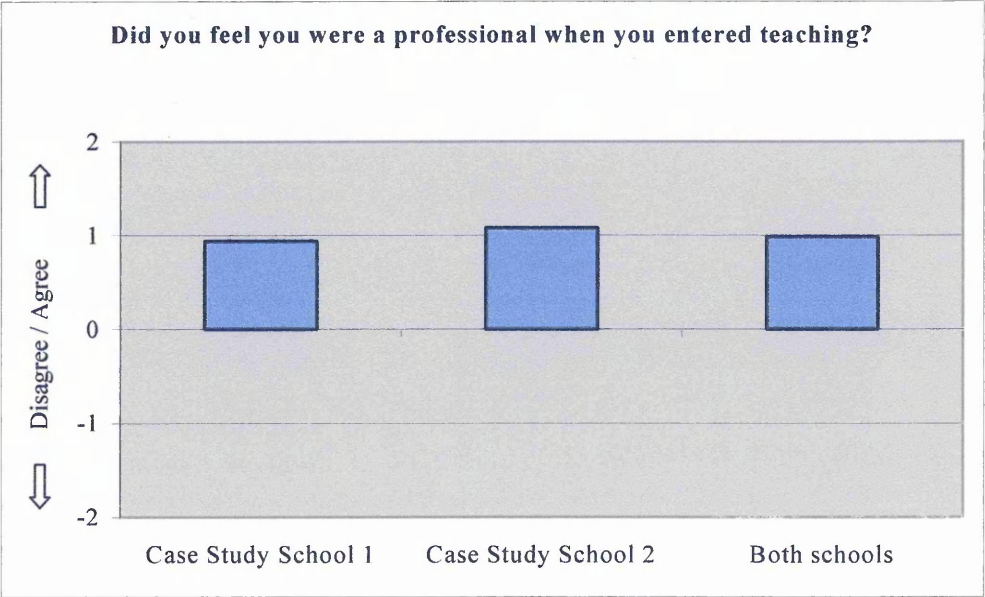


Figure 7.1 Did you feel a professional when entering teaching? – all respondents

Responses were then looked at by teaching experience to ascertain whether any group had had more or less feelings of professionalism when entering teaching (Table 7.1). The average scores for each group were:

Years of teaching experience	Both Schools	Case Study School 1	Case Study School 2
0-5 years	0.85	1.07	0.62
5-10 years	0.91	0.56	2.00
10-15 years	1.00	1.00	No respondents
15-20 years	2.00	No respondents	2.00
20 + years	1.08	1.00	1.29

Table 7.1 Did you feel a professional when entering teaching? – by experience

My hypothesis before carrying out this analysis was that entrants to teaching after the 1988 Education Act would see it more as a job than a vocation due to the changed contractual nature of the work. This hypothesis was not supported by the results, although the size of the cohort in some categories (only 2 of the 75 respondents had been teaching for 15-20 years) means that the feelings of individual respondents were significant when calculating the averages.

Of the 75 respondents, only 8 had felt more of an employee than a professional at the start of their careers, and this included only 1 out of 27 respondents who had been teaching for fifteen years or more. Of the 33 respondents who ticked the professional end of the continuum (a score of +2), 14 were from the 27 with more than 15 years experience compared with 19 from the 48 with less than 15 years experience.

Proletarianisation

Teachers feel a conflict between the statistical accountability demanded of them by the state, and their perceived professional responsibility for the well-being of their pupils.

As described above interviewees felt that their professionalism did not extend to the whole of their work and that there were occasions when they felt their motivation for becoming a teacher was threatened by proletarianisation of their work. This was particularly strong when performing well as a teacher was equated only to achieving good exam results. There appears to be here a conflict between what the teacher feels to be in the best interest of the pupil and the view of the state.

“I am much more accountable for getting pupils through their exams and to certain levels, whilst I’m sure that when I started that I was there in front of the class and occupied them for an hour, and obviously in the exam the kids did the best they can, but now there are certain targets that I’ve got to fit to and if I don’t get so many people through the exam, and I’ve got to do certain things, I feel far more, sort of – I don’t know what the word is – more

pressure to perform and actually get the children through. Where before when I started, all I had to do was survive the lesson and get through each day, and if the children passed the exam that was all very good, but they didn't actually come back to me so much, with percentages here and percentages there. I feel more pressure now than I used to." (Middle Manager Int.2)

"When I leave here I don't want whoever is the headteacher at the time to stand up and say she's been a great teacher because she's got 75 per cent A-Cs. I don't want that. I want her to say things which I've actually done as a teacher." (Middle Manager Int.2)

"... when a lot of initiatives come in - a lot of them are very good and a lot of them I do already - I do sometimes feel it is very much 'This is what you have to do' instead of 'Do you think this would be a good idea?'. In some cases, with some classes, it wouldn't always be a good idea to do certain things, and as a professional you should have that decision, but as an employee you don't." (Middle Manager Int.5)

To test whether feelings of loss of professionalism were widespread, in the second survey a continuum, similar to that for assessing professionalism on entry to teaching, was provided for respondents to indicate how they currently felt on a professional-employee scale. Averages were calculated for the whole cohort of respondents individual schools and subsets of each. These averages were then compared with the respondents' initial feelings (Figures 7.2 – 7.8).

Figures 7.2 – 7.5 indicate that those in the early years of their career experience an increasing sense of professionalism whilst those in the latter stages of their career feel their professionalism is decreasing.

Professionalism felt by all respondents

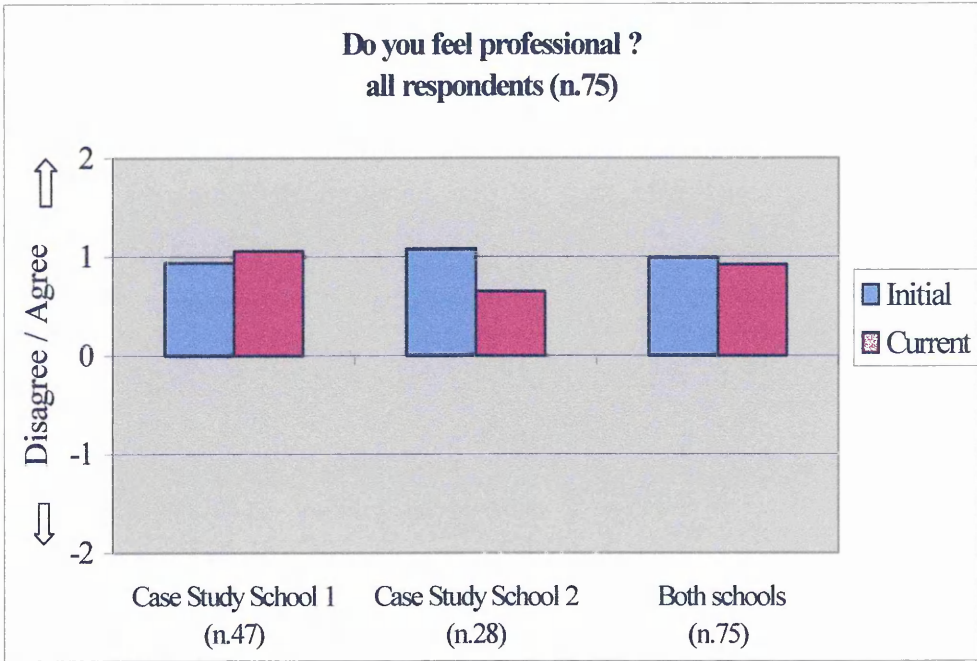


Figure 7.2 Do you feel professional? – all respondents

Professionalism felt according to experience

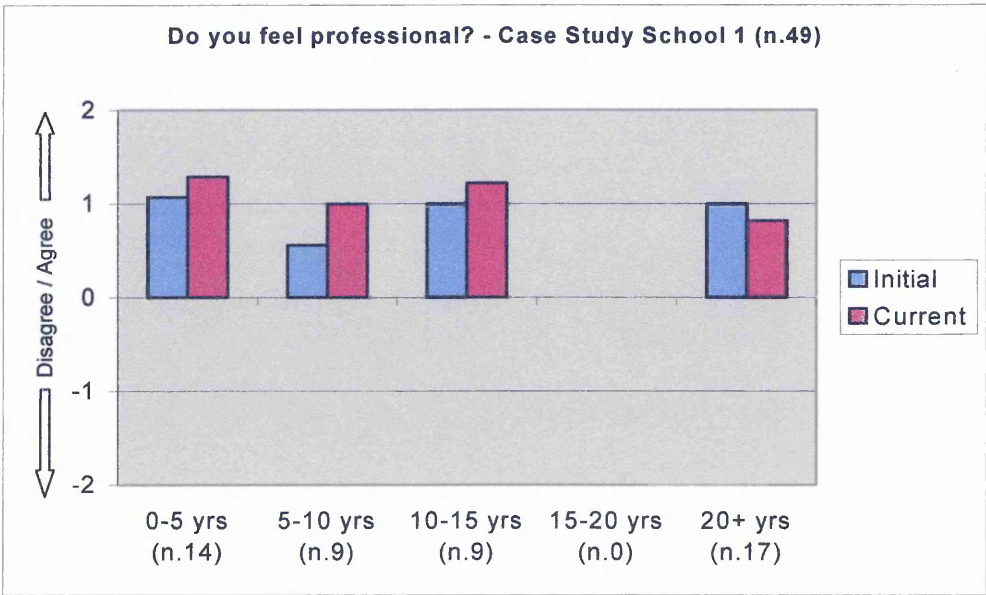


Figure 7.3 Do you feel professional? – by experience in Case Study School 1

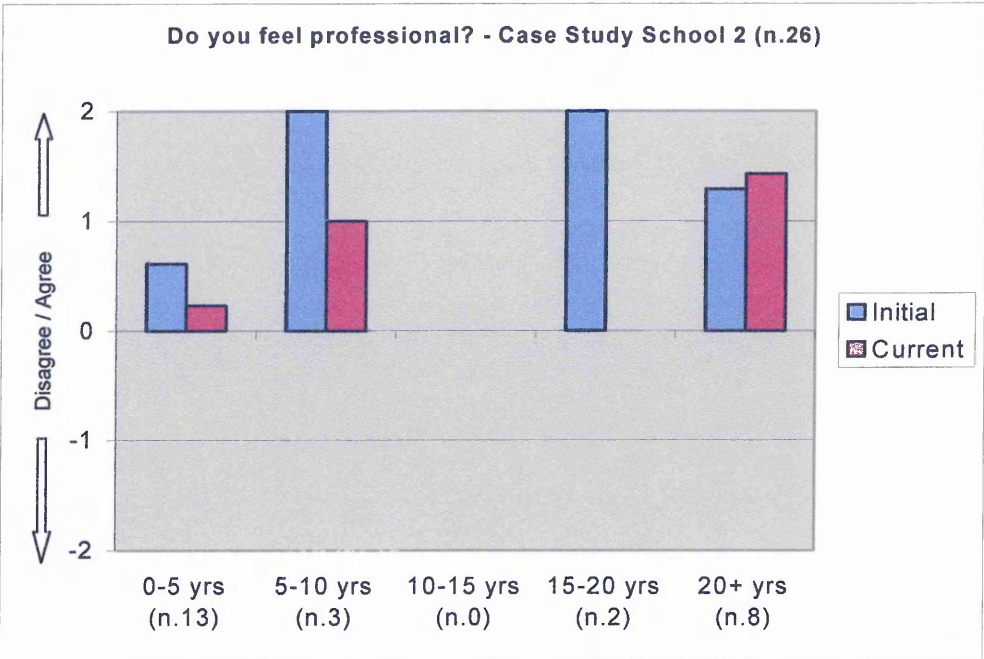


Figure 7.4 Do you feel professional? – by experience in Case Study School 2

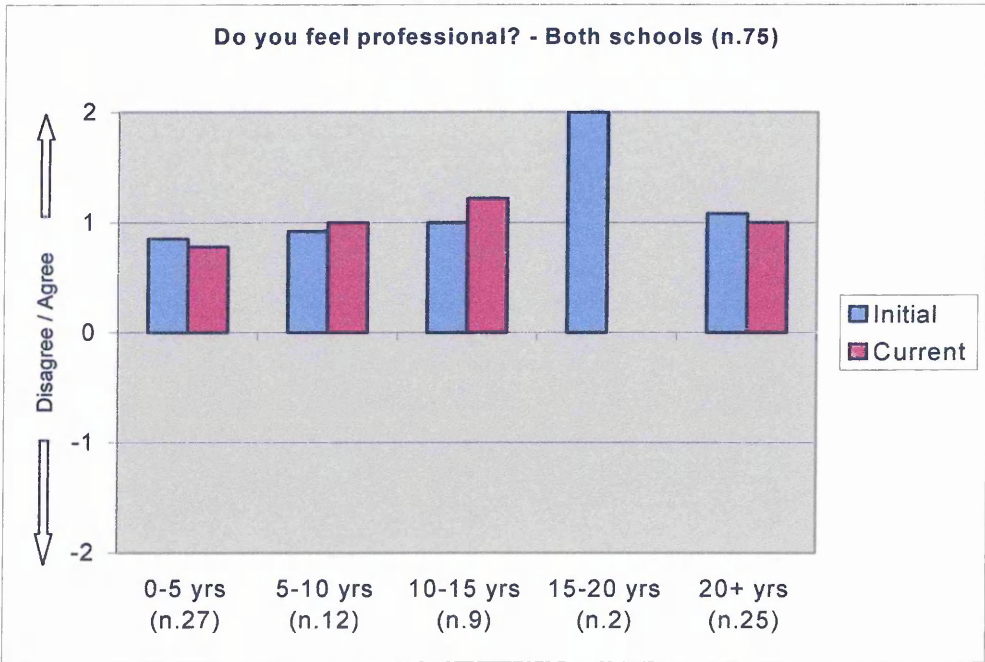


Figure 7.5 Do you feel professional? – by experience in both schools

In order to investigate why there was a rise in professional feelings amongst those with 5 to 15 years of experience, whilst there was a decline in the other three groups, the responses were analysed again by the respondents' role within the schools (Figures 7.6 – 7.8).

Professionalism felt according to role

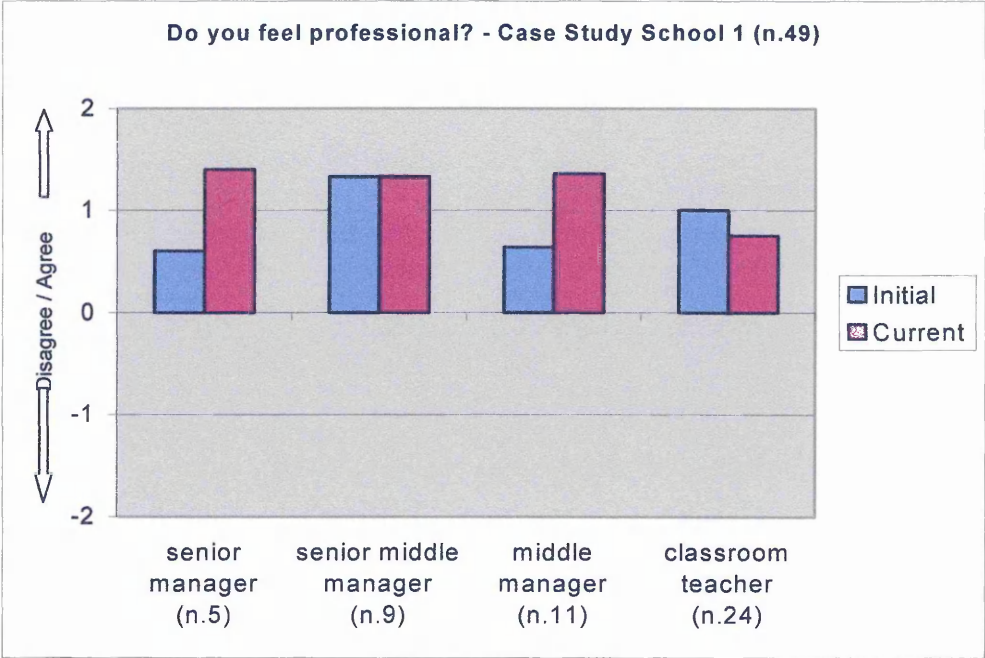


Figure 7.6 Do you feel professional? – by role in Case Study School 1

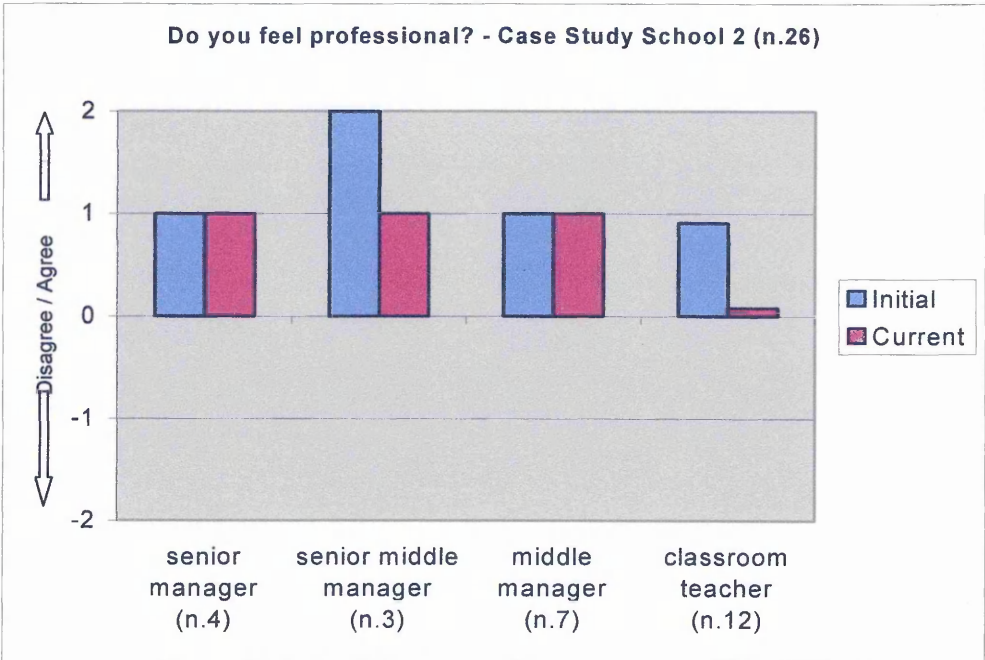


Figure 7.7 Do you feel professional? – by role in Case Study School 2

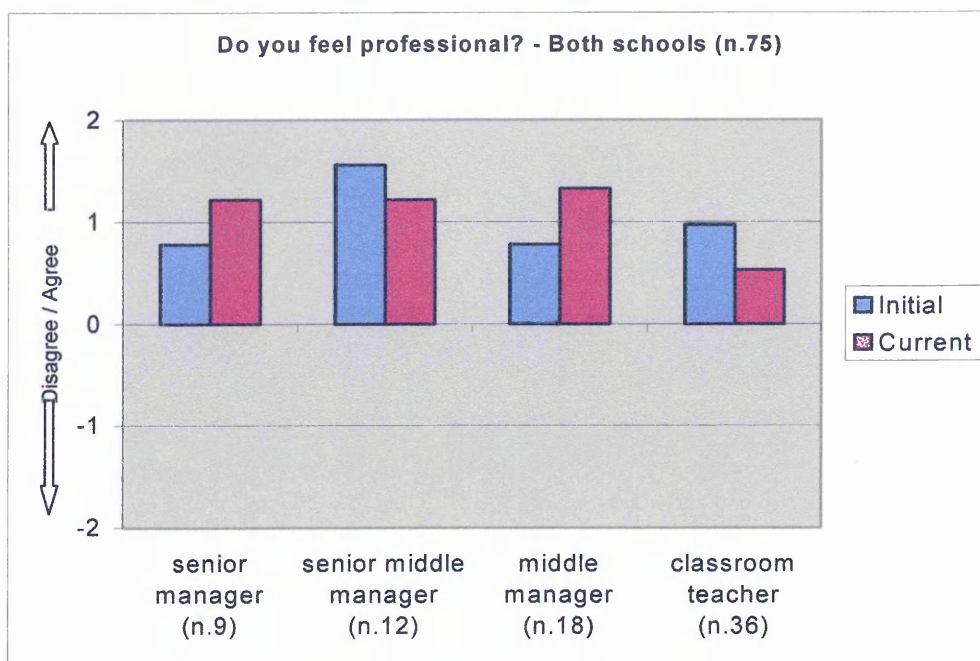


Figure 7.8 Do you feel professional? – by role in both schools

This analysis appears to indicate that feelings of professionalism are linked to positions of authority within the school’s hierarchy. This is substantiated by respondents’ comments on how their feelings had changed.

Those who felt more professional now than before ascribed it to increased experience, confidence and expertise

“experience helps you recognise this” (2/27⁷)

“gaining experience has increased my feeling of being a professional” (2/41)

“more confident and have developed professional skills during this time” (2/45)

“Experience! As I have gained years of experience and as my practice has improved, I am now more confident to view myself as a professional.”(2/47)

“Having had more experience in the job, I find myself being totally focussed on the children I teach. Although I am an employee I very rarely consider my employer/the LEA as a factor in my planning/marking etc.” (2/14)

professional development

“The topics covered in my MA course have been quite an eye opener to the way teaching is portrayed and the reality of teaching as a profession” (2/38)

“I now have a greater understanding of the role and a stronger sense of vocation” (2/103)

increased support

“the introduction of non-professionals – LSAs⁸, more support staff, etc.” (2/59)

and promotion

“as responsibilities have increased, my sense of self motivation has increased. However, the increasing ‘interference’ of central government has militated against this” (2/46)

“taking on the role of Head of Department” (2/59)

“Increased responsibility and fuller understanding of the whole teaching” (2/96)

“On starting teaching I saw myself as an individual but as I became a member of a team (department, year group, school) I felt more of a professional with more of a strategic understanding of school education and my potential role within it” (2/104)

“Promotion to the SLT⁹ has made me feel more of a professional” (2/105)

“Now more responsibility – taking it all much more seriously now I’m older. Came into the profession with myself as the main focus, now it’s the pupils.” (2/241)

One respondent disagreed with the idea of the professional-employee continuum –

“I see myself as both professional and an employee” (2/11) but also went on to question teachers’ claims to professionalism at all – “In teaching ‘professional behaviour’ has generally been used to persuade teachers to

do work which they are not paid for – in stark contrast to other professionals, e.g. lawyers, architects, etc.” (2/11)

A loss of professionalism was most often attributed to government interference limiting teacher choice, linked to managerial control

“No longer in control of what is taught – and rarely consulted about what changes that take place” (2/18)

“more and more the government are imposing work on teachers which has no relevance to improving the pupils’ education” (2/48)

“less ‘control’ over my working conditions – too much bureaucracy and imposed rules from Central government” (2/206)

“Loss of control over curriculum since introduction of National Curriculum. Loss of room for individual initiative and imposition of ‘approved’ teaching styles through the growth of excessive ‘management’ culture” (2/71)

“More and more we seem to be dictated to by persons outside our area who do not have up to date working knowledge needed to be able to make decisions on changes to individual aspects of our jobs. ‘They’ (possibly GTC, government, etc.) have no idea of the effects that their decisions have on so many ‘professional’ people – the amount of work, pressure and resentment that their uneducated decisions create – which changes my view from professional to employee” (2/78)

“More centrally imposed by government, although it is possible many feel that National Curriculum might make them feel more professional” (2/84)

“I feel you have less and less flexibility in the teaching and therefore have to follow a more ‘strict’ path” (2/90)

“more rigid control of curriculum” (2/98)

“More legislation. Things we are told to do – rather than making professional decisions” (2/247)

changes in school organisation

“I feel schools are more interested in a corporate approach, rather than individual professionals” (2/223)

“With the recent change in our status (TLRs¹⁰) I will be losing pay. Therefore I hardly feel like a professional” (2/242)

bureaucracy

“So much paperwork to do and fill in” (2/55)

“Bureaucracy, administration” (2/204)

“school policies, requirements, restrictions” (2/211)

poorer quality teacher training

“Many staff around are not formally trained” (2/223)

the loss of status of some teaching subjects which are not the school's chosen specialism

“Focus on specialism of school, less chance to advance or be supported if not in specialist subject – less money, less support for our department” (2/201)

and a general loss of teacher status in society

“less respect from parents, pupils and sometimes senior management” (2/54)

“less perception in society of how important teaching is” (2/74)

“Far too much pressure put upon us with less money and support. Attitude of society. Lack of recognition of effort. More restrictions.” (2/222)

“One does not always receive the credit and trust that you are behaving in a professional way” (2/256)

Government initiatives

Teachers feel most government initiatives have not increased their professionalism.

Many of the quotations above indicating a drop in professionalism centre on government 'interference' in education. In the interviews I asked whether any particular government initiatives had influenced their feelings of being a professional.

Among the most experienced interviewees there was an agreement that perceptions and practice had changed from before the 1988 Education Act, but that it was difficult to say that things had changed for the worst. There was a feeling that the increased contractual accountability had increased the purposefulness of the teaching, but there was a strong feeling that the concentration on measurable performance had led to a loss of some other important wider aspects of teaching, such as the nurturing of the individual child.

There were few complaints about the teaching initiatives introduced in recent years by the government, although the perceived dictatorial way in which they had been presented caused much resentment amongst those who felt they should have a professional right to choose how and when to implement the ideas, as mentioned above in my discussion of proletarianisation.

“Whilst the government initiatives made me feel more of a professional in sense of a target and things like that, but on the other hand it's only in one area. It's taken away all the other things I do. My role as a tutor is now not as important. I think that all those things we do as tutors, all the other things I do, all these extra-curricular things I do with the children, are now not valued as much;
Exams we've always put children through in school, the exam results are important, but aren't we supposed to be educating the whole child? I think that what the

government is doing is concentrating all the work on getting these children through to exams, forgetting all those other things teachers used to do. I didn't feel so much pressure about exams before but I did feel more about making a whole child, a whole educated child, the social bits and the work we do as a tutor, all the other things, but I think what the government, to me personally, has done is focus me on getting through exams... and I think in a way that's quite sad. "(Middle Manager Int.2)

"... I've always said in a hospital they should leave it to the doctors, and instead of imposing something on to us, they should leave the teachers to decide – we're in the best place to know whether something will work." (Classroom Teacher Int.7)

There was a feeling by some that government initiatives had little effect.

"I don't think any of the strategies and deals and things that have been produced have changed teachers' views."
(Senior Middle Manager Int.3)

"...when you come into the profession you always meet people who have been in it for a long time and (*you hear*) 'we've done this before'...most (*initiatives*) fall by the wayside. I'd say ninety-nine per cent of them cease to be."
(Middle Manager Int.6)

Not all initiatives were seen as adversely effecting professionalism. Where purpose could be seen in the initiative it had a positive effect. One example of this was the Key Stage 3 Strategy

"I suppose the structures you've got to include now – all the learning outcomes, initiatives which come in, assessment for learning stuff ...it does make you feel that

bit more professional in some respects, because you are being challenged and there is a far greater structure than where you can go in and just dish out a worksheet or copy off the board, which is where I started. There is that much in all the targets and levels. So it does feel as if it's been upped a bit – the sort of professionalism that is expected.”
(Classroom Teacher Int.1)

“The only one which I can think of recently that I felt was really useful, which has made a big impact on me, was looking at assessment for learning... I think I was always a good teacher, but I think I perform better by doing that... The way we've done it and the way I see it – we get the framework and you think...this is what I want them to learn, which can be discussed and agreed, then how you actually teach – that is entirely down to the teacher.”
(Middle Manager Int.6)

The one initiative which was most criticised was the establishment of the GTC. All interviewees expressed deeply negative views about this body, feeling that it was a government-imposed body, unrepresentative of normal teachers, which took money from their pockets and served no purpose. Professional associations/unions were mentioned as being the bodies with which teachers identified. No-one felt that the GTC had in any way raised the professional status of teachers

“They take my money and send me a newsletter. Beyond that I don't know how they act....I'm far more aware of what my union expects. I read all their literature and I am very aware of my membership and that is there to support me, and I will use my union advisor quite often to ask very minor things - to say 'what do I do about this?' But the GTC which is meant to have a similar guidance for teachers, I wouldn't know who to go for it.” (Classroom Teacher Int.1)

“It’s hugely unpopular. I’m not in a position to know whether it has changed how people think about themselves...I would disagree (*that it makes teachers more professional*). It’s failed. In many ways it’s gone the other way because no-one was asked whether they wanted to join it or not.” (Senior Middle Manager Int.3)

“Yes, what do they do? We pay them thirty pounds a year. I’ve never really worked out what they do.” (Classroom Teacher Int.4)

“The GTC – I never really understood why I was paying for something I hadn’t asked for. So in a way it made me feel more like an employee and it made me feel I had very little voice because I have a union – I’ve chosen which union I want to sign up for – and as far as I am concerned if I’ve ever needed them, there has been somebody there to talk to and that’s what I pay my money for.” (Middle Manager Int.5)

“They took two loads of money out of my salary and then I had to wait for the next month for it to come back again. And that’s happened twice.” (Classroom Teacher Int.7)

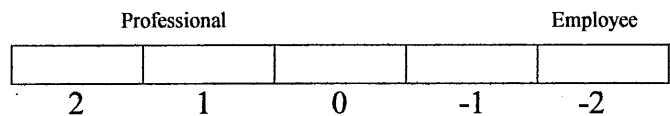
Echoing Beare’s (2001) assertion that professional status is in the hands of the public to distribute and must be earned, one interviewee felt that the government had not done enough to support the status of teaching despite initiatives such as the GTC

“I’d like to know how they (*the government*) can ensure that in the public eye teaching is still seen as a good job, because I think that would have more impact. I think teachers still get blamed by parents for the behaviour of their children when it’s really the parents’ responsibility... you still get people saying things like ‘teachers can’t teach

or do it properly’, even that idea that you only teach because you can’t do another job.” (Middle Manager Int.6)

To verify these opinions in question two of the second group of questionnaires I sought to identify which government initiatives had been viewed positively or negatively, focussing in particular on those which had been identified by interviewees following the first group of questionnaires.

For purposes of analysis the professional-employee scale was used again.



Respondents chose a box on a 5-point scale between professional and employee and their responses were again scored with 0 representing a midway point, 1 and 2 feelings of increased professionalism, and -1 and -2 increasing feelings of being an employee. Average values for the whole cohort in each school, to show the effect of each initiative. The results were:

Government Initiative	Both Schools	Case Study School 1	Case Study School 2
1988 Education Act	0.3	0.4	0.3
Local Management of Schools	0.3	0.4	0.2
Key Stage 3 Initiative	0.2	0.2	0.2
General Teaching Council	0.1	0.1	0.1

Table 7.2 Effect of government initiatives on feelings of professionalism

The positive scores show general and mild increases in feelings of professionalism in response to all these initiatives, though least to the GTC. As the 1988 Education Act might have been expected to have had a greater effect on those teaching at the time of its implementation, the responses of those who had been teaching more than 15 years were analysed. The result was an average of 0.0. This substantiated a comment during the period when the questionnaires were being completed, made by a colleague with more than thirty years experience. He asserted that although he resented the interference in his teaching that the 1988 Education Act and its increased accountability brought, he felt he had to admit that it had raised the standard

both of his own teaching and that of education in general, and therefore could in retrospect have had a positive effect as a teacher's professionalism.

The General Teaching Council, which was intended to give teaching a professional standing as the General Medical Council and Bar Society had done for the medical and legal professions, appears to have had a negligible effect. The very negative views expressed during the post first survey interviews towards the GTC were, with the exception of one respondent who described it as "a dangerous waste of time" (2/11), not upheld by the consensus view.

Other initiatives added by respondents included those which had had a direct effect upon them as individuals – the 'Every Child Matters' initiative with an increased focus on individual education plans for a teacher of Special Needs; Teaching and Learning Responsibilities mentioned by two respondents, one positively and one negatively dependent on whether they were financially gaining or losing; and the Leading Maths Teacher Scheme by a colleague who had been invited to join it.

Professionalism and accountability

The findings outlined here demonstrate that teachers do want to be considered as professional, and are demotivated when they feel this status is under attack. This explains their assertion that any substantial accountability they show is professional and their failure to recognise that any major level of contractual accountability is due. Teachers' claims to professionalism do not stand up against accepted definitions of traditional professions, but the interviewees in particular show that the overwhelming motivation for doing the best possible job is a commitment to pupils and that the assumption of professional status provides them reward for any extra effort given. Their claims, therefore, should not be ignored. In my final section I discuss how locally and nationally these teachers' perceptions should be addressed.

Conclusions

This research project had as its initial question whether being in a specialist school effected how teachers felt accountable. At that point the specialist school programme was the government's flagship educational policy.

Although specialist schools were in a minority, there was government talk of extending the initiative, and during the life of this project the majority of schools now have specialist status, with the government declaring its intention to apply it to all secondary schools.

The specialist school programme proclaimed its objectives of raising standards, extending choice, and involving community and business more closely in education (Specialist Schools and Academies Trust, 2006). The success of specialist schools in terms of pupil attainment has been measured extensively by researchers as such as Jesson (2002) on behalf of the Specialist Schools Trust¹¹, yet despite claims made about the contribution of specialist schools to their communities, and the importance of business links to the success of specialist schools, less has been done on assessing the final two objectives.

This lack of research appears strange in the light of the importance being placed by government policy on commercial involvement in state schools, from Public Private Finance Initiatives, through city academies dependent on private sponsorship and the greater requirements for planned sponsor involvement when any school is applying or reapplying for specialist status, to the 2005 Education White Paper setting up trust schools (DfES, 2005b)

My research project was inspired by leading my school, at the request of the headteacher and governors, into specialist status, including identifying and developing sponsors, and my feelings of uncertainty about how the business and community aspects of being a specialist school would affect existing patterns of accountability within the school, and therefore the strategies for

leading the school. My decision was to take as my initial research question whether the change to specialist school status would effect how teachers felt accountable.

Drawing on research into accountability carried out in the 1980s and 1990s I used a methodological framework based around considering the balance of professional, moral and contractual accountability felt by teachers to individual groups of traditional stakeholders. To this I added an investigation of views about the new groups – community and business sponsors. My research was carried out using questionnaires and interviews in two specialist language colleges, my own and another to which I had access. The use of two case study schools enabled me to draw some comparisons and identify possible generalisations.

Within the two case study schools my research found little difference in the patterns of accountability felt by the teaching staff, between the two surveys – the first administered at the beginning of the schools' specialist status and the second after the schools had been specialist schools for some time. This is not to say that there have been no other benefits from the change of status, but it does indicate that if a new teacher mindset was hoped for within specialist schools, this has not been achieved within the first period after designation in these particular schools. The fourth specialist school objective mentioned in Chapter 1 – the development of characteristics showing the change of identity – has not yet been met and teachers' attitudes throw doubt on the possible success of the use of private business management skills to improve standards in the classroom. Teachers' failure to recognise these new groups presents a problem for school leaders who will be expected to implement this policy.

Emerging from the data obtained from the interviews and questionnaires, my research also revealed that teachers' notions of accountability seemed to be intertwined with feelings of professionalism. This led to a consideration of the government attitude to teaching as a profession and whether this is compatible with the government's policy of 'marketisation'. It also raises

important theoretical issues about the relationship of professionalism and accountability.

Main findings

I now turn to the ten main findings which emerged from my research, and which I will discuss individually over the next few pages.

With regard to my main research question:

1. Within the researched schools my data indicates that there is little difference in the patterns of accountability felt by teachers between the two surveys.

With regard to teachers' attitudes to stakeholders:

2. Pupils are seen as the most important stakeholder for teachers.

3. Accountability felt to parents was lower amongst the teachers questioned in the second survey than amongst those questioned in the first survey eighteen months earlier.

4. Within the school's hierarchy, teachers' accountability was highest to those with whom they have the most contact.

5. Teachers felt little accountability beyond the school's hierarchy.

6. Accountability to Local Education Authorities was low amongst even senior managers.

With regard to teachers' attitudes to business involvement in schools:

7. Teachers were willing to take business sponsors' money and would not object to using businesses' skills, but teachers were not willing to give business any influence or power in exchange, especially where business is seen to be impinging upon teachers' areas of skill, knowledge and expertise.

With regard to teachers' attitudes to professionalism:

8. On entering teaching the vast majority of respondents and interviewees considered they were joining a profession rather than just getting a job, and those who have been teaching more than fifteen years had stronger feelings of professionalism.

9. Teachers do not feel that government attempts to increase professionalisation have been very successful.

10. Feelings of professionalism are enhanced by the autonomy which comes with authority in a school.

Implications of my findings for practice

1. Within the researched schools my data indicates that there is little difference in the patterns of accountability felt by teachers between the two surveys.

Specialist school status has had little effect on the ethos of accountability amongst the teaching staff, and even at school leadership level changes have been due to variations in role and job description.

During the primary designation phase, where business sponsorship was required, no attempt was made by the relevant government department to follow up whether the links had been continued, indeed there was no requirement on the part of the sponsors to commit themselves to anything more than a philanthropic donation. If the business links at redesignation are to be more effective it will be necessary for there to be direct and regular accountability by schools to government.

At a school level the creation of a specialist school ethos, or lack of it as found by this research, is two-pronged. The explicit aim in the Specialist Schools and Academies Trust objectives is the development of a distinctive ethos for a school reflecting its subject specialism and local circumstances. In both case study schools there was evidence from respondents that some progress was being made in this respect. The second, more implicit, prong is the development of an ethos, generic to all specialist schools, which reflects their common relationship with community and business. It is this second prong which has not been fully achieved in the case study schools (although

the data show some progress with the community), and which school leaders may need to prioritise. The introduction of the 14-19 diplomas in 2008 with the necessity for an “accountability framework which makes sure that we offer the best to young people” (Department for Education and Skills, 2005a) will create a common prospectus across areas, forcing schools and teachers to work together at all levels. This will make patterns of accountability more complex than at the moment, with teachers being responsible for the education of pupils from other schools.

Comments from interviewees indicate that if such accountability is to be enforced by school leaders they will need to demonstrate to teachers that it will accrue benefits both to the teachers and more importantly to their pupils. An enhanced involvement of business in schools poses more problems to school leaders, as they will need to identify ways to reward businesses for their involvement in a way which does not contravene schools’ own aims and ethics, and is therefore acceptable to teachers.

2. Pupils are seen as the most important stakeholder for teachers.

This is in line with writings on professions in general (Roy, 1983; Beare, 2001), where professionals see themselves most accountable to their direct clients – the ‘day-to-day’ contact mentioned by so many teachers during the research (see comments on page 91). Underlying this accountability felt by teachers is a sense of responsibility for providing the best possible service to customers who have little influence over what they receive. The current educational moves towards ‘student voice’ (SHA/SSAT, 2004) - giving pupils more of a direct say in the management and direction of the school - effects this sense of responsibility. If teachers perceive pupils to be achieving power over their work it could actually lead to a diminution in their feelings of accountability to them.

3. Accountability felt to parents was lower amongst the teachers questioned in the second survey than amongst those questioned in the first survey eighteen months earlier.

As professionals teachers should have a strong feeling towards these clients but the change in the role of this client may have changed the teacher-parent

professional relationship which is described by Tropp (1957) and Gosden (1972). In support of this hypothesis the greatest accountability to parents was shown by the most experienced teachers and this was of a professional nature, demonstrating possibly a hangover from a time when parents were not so powerful. It could be argued from this that as a stakeholder grows in power, teachers' feelings of accountability to that stakeholder reduce, since a drop in professional accountability does not appear to be balanced by an equal increase in contractual accountability. This theory has also been supported by the responses of teachers in Case Study School 1 in discussions following the analysis of my research results.

Hargreaves (2000, p.15/16) discusses educational developments creating more complex relationships with increasingly powerful clientele, and how these will provoke either exciting relationships or deprofessionalisation.

In policy terms, if the dwindling moral and professional accountability to parents is due to a rise in parent power, the requirement in the 2006 Education Bill that trust schools establish Parent Councils in order to secure parental influence in the running of the school, could cause a backlash which ultimately will reduce the influence of parents.

It is noticeable that some school leaders have already needed to address 'parent power' and 'student voice' by implementing a policy of 'teacher voice' to provide a counter-balance and to reassure teachers that they have a say in the school's direction.

4. Within the school's hierarchy, teachers' accountability was highest to those with whom they have the most contact.

This has significance for the management of the school. It is likely that the levels of accountability to these stakeholders will depend upon the leadership style used in any particular school. In the case study schools there was a strong sense of the team. Teachers felt accountable to subject colleagues and to line managers, and within the team this accountability was reciprocated. The description of a secondary school resembling a medieval realm where immediate loyalty is to the local baron and only through him to

the monarch, has been much used, but appears to be apt in both case study schools. For the leadership of the school this poses a question about how that leadership can be exercised. The headteacher can accept the team structure and use it, exercising accountability on classroom teachers second-hand, through heads of department. In this scenario the head of department needs to be held closely to account for the team to ensure a simple direction. If the headteacher wishes to bypass the head of department and insist on direct accountability from the teacher to her/him, then a heavy commitment of time will be necessary to provide the day-to-day contact teachers demand as the price for feeling accountable.

5. Teachers felt little accountability beyond the school's hierarchy.

This raises questions of policy and practice for educationalists. When pushed, most teachers admitted that they were appointed by the Board of Governors and employed by the LEA, yet few were willing to acknowledge any degree of accountability, even contractual.

This finding demonstrates how difficult it would be for any leadership team who wishes to replace the more 'anarchic' professional accountability with a more controlled contractual accountability, since, unless systems are imposed actually to hold teachers to their contractual accountability, once the classroom door is closed the individual teacher will continue to ignore those 'invisible' stakeholders.

In practical terms governing bodies have accountability to key stakeholders – parents, staff, the wider community, the LEA, to Ofsted and to Her Majesty's Inspectorate¹². To exercise this accountability they must in turn receive accountability from the school's staff, yet this does not appear to be the case.

In policy terms the government's advocacy of foundation schools in the 2006 Education Bill, with increased powers for governors leaves them with the problem of how to increase teachers' accountability to them. Lay governors cannot usually devote the time during the working day to have the regular 'day-to-day' contact with staff. It is therefore important that

governors take what opportunities do arise to be seen by staff. A greater participation by governors at interviews for staff appointments will become necessary under the government's new guidelines on the safer recruitment of staff (Department for Education and Skills, 2006a), where a formally trained interviewer must be present and this formal training is being restricted to the headteacher and one governor per school. This should ensure that most new teachers to a school are aware both of who the governors are, and the link between their employment and a decision made by the governors.

6. Accountability to Local Education Authorities was low amongst even senior managers.

The drop in accountability since Lello (1979), is in line with the decline in importance of the local authority as initiatives such as the Local Management of Schools have progressively removed power and influence from LEAs. This decline is unlikely to be reversed with 'intelligent accountability', the introduction of the New Relationship with Schools (Department for Education and Skills, 2005b) and School Improvement Partners. The latter are defined as "someone with current or recent headship experience (who) will act as the conduit between central government, the local authority and the school, helping set targets and priorities and identifying support needed" (Department for Education and Skills, 2006b). If the School Improvement Partner is to be a 'conduit' this can only distance the accountability of school managers from local and central government, whilst creating a new 'super-stakeholder' to whom headteachers will have to be accountable.

7. Teachers were willing to take business sponsors' money and would not object to using businesses' skills, but teachers were not willing to give business any influence or power in exchange, especially where business is seen to be impinging upon teachers' areas of skill, knowledge and expertise.

This raises serious questions about the expectations of the 2005 Education White Paper which puts emphasis on the greater involvement of businesses in school.

Leaders of the business community appear to favour the governmental move. British Chamber of Commerce president Bill Midgley has said

“Greater injection of the business ethos into our education system is much needed and we support moves by the government to allow businesses to become more involved in the running of schools ... Giving schools more autonomy in how they are managed and involving business in this process will help to make the education system more responsive to the needs of the local community and economy, as well as reducing bureaucracy and increasing efficiency in the sector.” (politics.co.uk, 2006a)

CBI director general Sir Digby Jones believes that the plans do not go far enough

“The contribution business makes to improving state education should go beyond the purely philanthropic ... Specialist education companies brought in by the state sector have demonstrated striking success in helping pupils overcome their basic skills challenges and in turning round failing LEAs... It is a great pity if ideological opposition has held back good ideas to involve business that could have further improved opportunities for young people.”
(politics.co.uk, 2006b)

My research suggests that teachers are unlikely to accept increased business involvement, as Digby Jones predicts. Midgley’s hopes of greater autonomy for schools look more like a reallocation of accountability from the LEA to local community and commerce. However, Midgley is assuming a level of accountability which does not appear to exist, and both he and Digby Jones seem to be transposing a business, employer-employee, model to schools without recognising that this is not how teachers perceive their work.

8. On entering teaching the vast majority of respondents and interviewees considered they were joining a profession rather than just getting a job, and those who have been teaching more than fifteen years had stronger feelings of professionalism.

It appears that the heightened contractual accountability Poulson (1998) identified has generally reverted back to professional accountability, and in line with Poulson, those who pre-date the prolaterianisation of the 1988 Education Act retain the strongest professional accountability.

How teachers teach may have been under attack but my stakeholder results – the emphasis on accountability to self and pupils – stress that, as Roy (1983) reputed, the teacher's aim 'to do his job in the best interests of the children' has not changed.

Control of teachers' professionalism is at two levels, the school locally and the workforce nationally. This is confirmed by my interviewees who identified the actions of the headteacher and national government having substantial effect on their feelings of professionalism.

For leaders in school managing this sense of professionalism is a major challenge. Ingersoll (2003) writes

“Too much organizational control can deny teachers the very control and flexibility necessary to do their job effectively, and can undermine the motivation of those doing the job. Imposing a high degree of organizational control may squander a valuable organizational resource – the unusual degree of commitment of those who enter the teaching occupation. Having little say in the terms, processes, and outcomes of their work may undermine the ability of teachers to feel they are doing worthwhile work – the very reason many of them come into the occupation in the first place ...” (p.236/7)

At a policy level nationally a decision has been taken to promote teaching as a profession. This may be due to ideology wishing to raise the public's

sense of value towards state education and those who work in it, or as a method to circumvent teacher industrial action, to support appraisal and the restructuring of the promotion system. My interviews with new recruits to teaching suggest some success in establishing the idea that teaching is a profession, but for those already in teaching, national initiatives to raise professionalism have been less successful

9. Teachers do not feel that government attempts to increase professionalisation have been very successful.

Johnson (1972) defines professionalism as occupational control rather than as the inherent nature of an occupation. In this light the establishment of the GTC could be seen as an attempt by the government to exercise control over teachers. Government interference was cited in my research as a reason for a loss of professionalism. The GTC, although strongly criticised by interviewees, was considered by respondents to the second survey to have had little negative effect but had certainly not increased feelings of professionalism. Johnson states

“Where the functions of maintaining standards are taken over by state agencies, or are provided for in legislation, the (occupational) association is transformed into an occupational pressure group, effectively losing its powers to prescribe the manner or practice”(p.80)

The lack of success of the GTC may be because it is seen as an imposed government agency replacing professional associations.

Teachers can be accused of invoking professionalism to support claims for higher salaries, and to oppose the carrying out of non-teaching duties. Teachers can also cite excessive bureaucratic control as a prolaterianising factor – a claim substantiated by my findings. In answer to this the government has negotiated a workload agreement with the teachers’ professional associations¹³. To finance this initiative and the provision of higher salaries through performance management and threshold payments¹⁴, the government has also imposed a Teaching and Learning Responsibilities (TLR) reform (see Endnote 8).

10. Feelings of professionalism are enhanced by the autonomy which comes with authority in a school.

Gleeson and Shain (2003) describe how managerialism turns senior professionals, who might be resistant to loss of professional autonomy, into managers; other writers have suggested proletarianisation results from teachers becoming managers.

Feelings of professionalism in my study have decreased in those with the least and the most experience, while those with 5-15 years of experience have increased feelings. This group is benefiting from promotion and increased autonomy, whereas the newer entrants have experienced less autonomy than was expected, and those with the most have experienced a loss of autonomy. This is backed up by the analysis by role where middle managers and senior managers are positive, and by comments on the questionnaires and in the interviews, where colleagues cited increased responsibilities as enhancing feelings of professionalism.

These findings bring into question the effectiveness of the Teaching and Learning Responsibilities reform. In 1957 Tropp wrote

“problems are already arising in the schools over the distribution of special allowances.”(p.260)

Tropp’s words are as applicable to the modern regime of TLR as they were in the mid-twentieth century when teachers could not agree that some activities, such as teaching above Ordinary General Certificate of Education level, were more valuable than “teaching civics to children who have to leave school at fifteen” (Tropp, 1957, p.260). In 2006 the abolition in particular of responsibility allowances for teachers with distinctly pastoral roles has caused many to question what is the function of education – whether there is a social role in producing a ‘rounded’ individual, or whether it has a more utilitarian role in bringing out an individual’s academic and intellectual potential. This argument reflects to some extent the current debate over the role of the state in general.

The underlying problem which Tropp’s comments highlight, and is mirrored today, is that the predominant definition of professionalism include an

element of differentiated financial reward and a trend towards individualised contracts with set outcomes. Whilst some may view performance management as moving teaching in this direction, it is a concept which has yet to be accepted by the vast majority of teachers.

In practice TLR, with its strict criteria for who can hold a teaching and learning responsibility, has resulted in the reduction of what were formerly 'scale one' posts – the first step on the promotion ladder. This will lead many who had such posts to lose them within three years and make it more difficult for new teachers to gain promotion. If, as my research suggests, promotion is linked to feelings of professionalism, this will cause a drop in that sense of professionalism. It will be up to the leadership of schools to affect this, by structuring the responsibility framework with distributed leadership to include these preliminary posts even if it is at the expense of an increased staffing budget.

Whilst distributed leadership may encourage enhanced professionalism amongst staff, it provides a weaker system for exercising accountability to the school's leadership since it is likely to create loyalties, such as those described in my research, to subject leaders, and may place an extra rung in the accountability ladder which could weaken feelings of accountability to those higher up the ladder. Timperley and Robinson (2003) criticise professional autonomy as being an excuse used by some for not exercising accountability. There was evidence in my research that there were instances of this in both case study schools. Timperley and Robinson also emphasise that professionalism involves collegial accountability – holding one's peers to account – and there was little evidence of this in my research. It is likely therefore that any move towards greater distribution of leadership will be accompanied by a tighter system of accountability to ensure a hierarchical control of the more professional teaching force.

Action plan for the case study schools

From the discussion of my findings above I have derived the following actions for government, school governors and school leaders.

As it is unlikely that governmental policy will be reversed regarding the extension of responsibilities to governors and school leaders, and the involvement of community and business in school leadership, action is necessary to consolidate teacher accountability to these four groups.

For government:

In view of the lack of a specialist school effect on accountability within the case study schools, there is a need for greater government supervision of how the considerable investment in the specialist school programme achieves that programme's aims as described at the start of this chapter. The Department for Education and Skills should require annual reports from specialist schools on progress against these aims, rather than a single self-evaluation at the end of each four-year designation cycle. By including specific questions on relationships with business and community, and the effects of those on pupils' education, the importance of these groups will be highlighted. In this way also a body of data will be collected quickly which can be used to inform future government policy on business-education links.

For governors in the case study schools:

If governors wish to be accounted to by the teachers for whom they are responsible, they must increase their visibility around school. This will be difficult since many governors have fulltime jobs and are not available during normal school hours. There is also the problem that whilst teachers are accountable to the governing body, individual governors cannot call individual teachers to account, and cannot therefore exercise a directional role which would hold the attention of a teacher. As mentioned governors will now be required to attend more teacher appointments under the government's Safer Recruitment guidelines (Department for Education and Skills, 2006), and will be seen by new appointees as part of the system which is employing them. In practical terms the most effective way of increasing their weight as stakeholders within the accountability framework, is for governors to delegate many of their responsibilities to senior and middle leaders to exercise, insist that teachers realise those responsibilities are exercised on behalf of the governors and then hold those leaders to account.

For headteachers and senior leaders in the case study schools:

There exists a mixture of perceptions of accountability which makes exercising accountability difficult for school leaders. As Day (2003a) predicts headteachers are caught between accountability to government and responsibility to students. As a matter of priority the headteacher, in consultation with governors and senior leaders should decide whether the desired ethos amongst staff should be one of the stronger contractual accountability to the headteacher and governors, but probably at the expense of the goodwill and extra effort which accompanies a high sense of professionalism; or an ethos of enhanced professionalism can be encouraged where the well-being of pupils will be paramount, but at the expense of allowing greater autonomy and receiving weaker hierarchical accountability. Where institutional change or a steep rise in standards is required, the former, more dictatorial leadership style, is necessary; once changes are established and standards are at the required level, the second more collegial style can be adopted. In this way, following Ingersoll (2003), the headteacher will strike a balance between organisational control and professional commitment.

Whatever the balance decided upon, headteachers need to strengthen both the contractual and professional elements of teachers' accountability.

School leaders can address the 'day-to-day' issue of direct accountability either by devoting a substantial portion of senior leadership time to working alongside teachers, or by empowering middle leaders with the responsibility for holding their teams to account and then holding middle leaders to account themselves. This second, pyramidal system, replicates the performance management structures already in place in schools, and fits well with the 2006 revision of performance management where individual teachers will now have to be held to account for their pupils' results and pay rises will be dependent on these results. As a priority, middle leaders need to have their accountabilities defined clearly, training on how to fulfil them and a plan about how and when they will report on those accountabilities. This will need to be achieved within the current performance management cycle.

Those school leaders with responsibility for community and business links must raise teachers' level of awareness of these two groups. This will be a long term project but as each new link is formed, school leaders should exploit teachers' existing high level of accountability to their pupils, by highlighting the benefits to pupils of closer links with community and business, whilst taking care to reassure teachers that these links will not divert schools from previously agreed aims.

The decline in accountability to parents should be of concern to school leaders in recognition that parents are both clients of the school and increasingly part of the school's directorate. Through the development of family learning opportunities, teachers and parents can work together to pupils' benefit, creating Hargreaves' exciting relationships rather than allowing teachers to perceive the relationship to be one of following parental instructions or defending themselves against parental complaints.

School leaders should also be sensitive to the rise of pupil power, perceived by some teachers in the growth of 'student voice', and should address the comments made by some interviewees that they did not feel their own voices were heard. School leaders make use of pupil and parent views when producing self-evaluation documents, using materials such as the Keele Pupil and Parent surveys¹⁵. It is now time for school leaders to close the teacher-pupil-parent triangle by implementing 'teacher voice' as already found in a small number of schools. An immediate review of existing channels and forms of communication between school leaders and teachers will help to identify the form 'teacher voice' should take – a regular questionnaire such as that also available from Keele University, or staff meetings where teachers' views can be sought and heard.

To counter-balance these moves which might be felt as attempts at deprofessionalisation, school leaders must also reinforce teachers' feelings of professionalism.

If, as my findings indicate, teachers' professionalism is heightened by taking on extra authority and responsibility, this should be allowed for in the

next revision of the school's staffing structure, providing roles for as many teachers as possible to increase their perceived positive impact on their clientele.

Summary of action points:

Government should

- require annual reports from specialist schools about how business and community links are enhancing learning.

Governors should

- be more visible around school more frequently to remind teachers' that they are accountable to the governors;
- require senior leaders to stress teachers' accountability to governors when exercising authority delegated to senior leaders by governors.

Senior leaders should

- decide on and promote the balance of professional and contractual accountability which best suits the ethos they desire for their school;
- be more visible around school more frequently to remind teachers' that they are accountable to senior leaders;
- ensure that middle leaders are clear of their accountabilities, that they demand accountability from their teams, and that they report on those accountabilities to senior leaders;
- raise teachers' awareness of business and community links, and the benefits of those links for pupils;
- encourage parent-teacher partnerships to offset teachers' concerns about parent power;
- ensure that 'student voice' is not seen by teachers as 'student power' at the expense of their sense of professionalism;
- implement a mechanism for teachers' views to be heard;
- provide opportunities for teachers to take on extra authority and responsibility to enhance feelings of professionalism.

Contribution to theory

Referring back to my reviews of the current literature in Chapter 2 on concepts of accountability and on notions of professionalism, my findings appear to support much accepted theory but also to raise some questions. This research drew on work on accountability done by Becher (Becher, Eraut and Knight, 1981) and Poulson (1998). These studies demonstrated a move from predominantly professional accountability amongst teachers in the early 1980s to a rise in contractual accountability in the 1990s following the passing of the 1988 Education Reform Act which introduced the National Curriculum, a tighter inspection regime, and league tables of results. In the decade between Poulson's research and my own there have been many more government initiatives directing how lessons should be taught, tighter governance and more performance management, which might be expected to have reinforced feelings of contractual accountability. At the same time other initiatives such as the GTC have been aimed at developing teachers' sense of professionalism. My research indicated that teachers' current dominant feeling of accountability is professional. The government initiatives have had an effect, but not necessarily those intended or expected. As predicted, those teachers who entered teaching before the 1988 Education Act have felt their professionalism eroded since, but less expectedly they still choose to practise professional accountability. Those who entered more recently also claim to be driven mainly by professional motivation. Neither group attributed any feelings of professionalism to the government's creation of the GTC, rather they felt that it was an attempt to impose control upon them.

Several writers have commented on changes of perceptions to stakeholders. Maclure (1978) describes the accountability debate to be a political act in favour of greater participation in education by parents and the local community. Both these groups have in recent years received the powers which Maclure predicts but my research indicates that these powers are as yet ineffectual in terms of raising standards in the classroom, and in the case of parents have paradoxically led to teachers feeling their responsibility to that group diminish. Nisbet's (1978) and Sockett's (1980a) three types of stakeholder – resource providers, customers and educational community –

are now less distinct. Parents, through their ability to choose between schools and thereby bring revenue to a school, are now both passive customers and active resource providers. This may account for some of this change.

Farrell and Law (1995) discuss the marginalising of the local education authority in terms of a school's and teachers' accountability to it, and my data confirms that this has happened, since classroom teachers feel virtually no accountability to local authorities and even senior leaders admit little accountability. In terms of Elliott's (1980) three levels of contractual accountability, teachers feel little or no national and local accountability, as their views on local authorities and the Department for Education and Skills show. Only at a school level do teachers feel any real contractual accountability – to headteachers.

In terms of those stakeholder groups to whom teachers do feel accountable, my research supports McCormick and James' (1988) view of the importance to teachers of answerability to one's clients and responsibility to self and colleagues, as well as those of Lingenfelter (2003) and Jones (2004) who see the important stakeholders as being children and not government. Beare's (2001) claim that concern for the individual is the principal motivation for professional practice is also sustained, for my interviewees drew close links between their accountability to and for pupils, and a justification for being considered a professional.

From the evidence of my interviews, feelings of professional accountability seem to be closely linked with teachers' motivations for taking up this particular career. In a political climate where unemployment is relatively low, a sense of service rather than financial gain appears to be the prime driver in teacher recruitment. Those driven by these motivations, although acknowledging contractual obligations, do not feel constricted by them. It is therefore important that educational leaders recognise that any loss of professional accountability cannot be readily substituted by an equal or greater feeling of contractual accountability. If a teacher is put into the position where contractual accountability appears to be contrary to their

feelings of moral and professional duty to their primary clients, in the knowledge that they can find another job, they will either ignore it or seek a different career.

Educational leaders must therefore either conform to professional expectations or convince teachers that policy objectives will enhance professional status by benefiting teachers and their pupils. This is demonstrated by the current ineffectiveness of the GTC. Gosden (1972) cites attempts from the early twentieth century by teachers to establish a body to protect their professionalism. This has resulted in the creation of teaching unions and professional associations. The imposition by the state on teachers of a new body, membership of which is compulsory, has led to it being viewed negatively by interviewees and respondents in my research, who perceive it as an attempt to impose state control at their expense, with no obvious benefits to teachers or pupils.

Lawn and Ozga (1988) attribute teachers' claims to professionalism partly as an attempt to justify higher salaries and to shed non-teaching duties. It is interesting to note therefore that two government initiatives which would appear to support the second of these objectives, have had mixed receptions. Workforce reform (see endnote 11), removing administrative duties from teachers has been greeted positively, yet the Teaching and Learning Responsibilities reform (TLR) has caused dissension. This is because some staff will eventually have salary cuts due to it, but also because teachers perceive it as limiting their responsibility towards pupils to the teaching function alone, removing from them the pastoral care element which several interviewees cited as the principal attraction of teaching. Lello (1979) finds that amongst educationalists at all levels, one common thread of accountability is having a moral responsibility for one's work, and teachers may equate the pastoral element of their traditional duties with this moral responsibility, whilst their teaching is now more concerned with a contractual accountability – the measurable results and league tables which Sockett (1980a) criticises as ignoring the education of the individual.

Paradoxically initiatives such as the Key Stage Strategies¹⁶ which might be considered more prescriptive in terms of pedagogy, have been greeted positively in my research, by teachers who see them raising their professional standards, focussing on skills and a level of competency - a prerequisite of professionalism identified by Hoyle (1969) - and benefiting the learners in the classroom.

A further concept emerges from my research - that accountability can only be exercised by those with whom one has regular contact. The adage 'out of sight, out of mind' is reflected in the comments of the interviewees who frequently point out that although they intellectually are aware of their obligations to many stakeholders, their real accountability is only to those with whom they deal on a day-to-day basis. This mirrors the findings of Cullen and Altshuld (1994) investigating accountability amongst American high-school teachers

"Overall audiences mentioned most often were those with whom the teachers worked in close proximity and had immediate access to direct interaction and communication..." (p.8)

Data from the Cambridge Accountability project (Elliott, 1980) also demonstrate that within that study teachers rarely saw accountability extending beyond colleagues and clients to governors and LEA officials. In large and complex organisations such as secondary schools, which rely on a primarily hierarchical structure to function, this emphasises the need for clearer expectations of an individual's accountability, allowing autonomy and thereby a sense of professionalism (Beare, 2001) and at the same time enabling middle managers to more easily hold colleagues to account within a performance management system. To avoid this being seen as a move towards greater proletarianisation of teachers (Walsh, 1987), performance indicators need to be extended beyond the exam results imposed by government¹⁷, towards the 'student-centred accountability' advocated by Reeves (2004) which allows teachers to nominate extra performance indicators which they consider to be important to their professional role. In this way headteachers, caught between accountability to government and responsibility to students (Day, 2003a) must expect middle managers, who

have often shirked holding colleagues contractually to account (Wise, 2001) to do so to prevent the outbreak of educational anarchy.

A final issue which emerges from my interviews is that teachers given managerial responsibilities feel their professionalism enhanced. Gleeson and Shain (2003) discuss whether professionalism and managerialism are necessarily opposed as has been claimed by writers such as Elliott (1996) and Randle and Brady (1997). Gleeson and Shain, focussing primarily on middle managers in further education, feel that managerialism and professionalism are more complexly related, with middle managers employing their new authority to protect colleagues from administrative (contractual) demands and to defend professional values. Those interviewed in my research were more concerned with the autonomy managerial authority brings, reflecting Hoyle's (1969) identification of self-regulation as a key feature of professionalism. In the light of my comments at the end of the previous paragraph however, an increased requirement on middle leaders in school to deliver contractual accountability, as described in further education by Gleeson and Shain, may diminish this professionalism.

Methodological issues

There were significant changes between my intended methodological programme and what was actually implemented. It became clear early into planning that within the restrictions of this project a 'before and after' approach would demand a longer time-scale than that available and would involve finding case study schools outside a manageable geographical area. The increased emphasis put on quantitative data obtained from the two groups of questionnaires rather than the qualitative data from interviews was necessitated by events in both schools which reduced time available to both interviewer and interviewees. Whilst the questionnaire data enabled a larger picture to be produced, and this has been triangulated by findings from the interviews, and subsequent discussion of initial conclusions with colleagues who had responded to questionnaires or been interviewed, the comparatively low response rate and sample mortality between the two surveys, even taking into account the representativeness of respondents to both surveys, makes comparison of both sets of results problematic.

If repeating this project I would consider the following changes:

- include further case study schools within the questionnaire surveys to provide a greater bank of quantitative data;
- employ additional strategies to raise response rates, such as a reminder letter and second copies of questionnaires issued automatically to all who had not responded by the deadline ;
- extend the time gap between the issue of the two surveys;
- clarify the wording on questionnaires where this has caused confusion in respondents (e.g. the interpretation of 'my parents' as stakeholders).

Future research

My research poses several questions which could provide foci for future projects.

- My finding that professionalism is enhanced by responsibility and greater autonomy, appears to contradict other established researchers. Further investigation is needed to establish the accuracy of my hypothesis.
- Linked to the above, there should be research on the effect of the Teaching and Learning Responsibility reform in terms of its effect on teacher professionalism and morale.
- In view of the emphasis placed by national government on business involvement in school improvement, research is needed to identify whether active business involvement does contribute to improvement as Digby Jones (politics.co.uk, 2006b) and Midgley (politics.co.uk, 2006a) predict, and the extent to which teachers accept this involvement.
- Finally, if the GTC is to win the respect and confidence of teachers, independent research should be carried out to ascertain whether it is enhancing teachers' claims to professionalism.

Stenhouse (1977) wrote that accountability which was not clear would lead to those being held to account trying to beat the accountants. From my research, in the case study schools, the patterns of accountability prescribed

by hierarchy and contract are not unclear. Teachers admit when pressed that they are employed by the LEAs and governing bodies, that the headteacher has authority in the school, that they are employed on behalf of the parents of the school. There is, however, a difference between intellectualising this accountability and acknowledging it in practice, as my findings have shown. In the case of those teachers examined in this research it is not just an external clarity of accountability which is important, but a personal clarity, highlighted and modified by the extent to which individuals see themselves as professionals, entitled by right to a degree of autonomy, expected to pay accountability to other close professionals, and committed to the best interests of powerless clients. Few national and local education leaders would speak out against a 'professional' teaching force, yet neither would they be willing to relinquish the right to direct what should be taught and how. Greater autonomy for schools is the much vaunted aim of both main political parties, but this will mean ironically less autonomy for teachers, since, if each individual school is to veer away in different directions from what has become a central, accepted educational model, teachers will need to be more tightly reined in to steer them in the exact, new direction determined for them by new stakeholders.

My research project started out to answer the question of whether specialist schools brought new senses of accountability. The answer, within the case study schools, is no, but more important questions have emerged concerning perceptions of accountability and perceptions of professionalism. To return to Stenhouse's analogy, it is time for the accountants to audit again the profit and loss of encouraging a truly professional teaching force; only then will the accountable and the accounted to have the clarity to prevent misunderstanding, frustration, and to ensure an improvement in performance for the benefit of our pupils.

Notes

¹ Linn (1998) provides a comprehensive account of how assessment is and has been employed as a means of holding educational systems and individuals to account, including a discussion of the reliability, validity and credibility of that system. He also makes recommendations for softening the edges of the statistics-reliant model to make allowance for the human nature of the material involved in the model.

² Comment made by Geoffrey Walford during an Open University tutorial in Reading in 2002.

³ E385 is the compulsory Open University pre-doctorate course focussing on research methods.

⁴ National Air Traffic Systems – once a sponsor of the school, but no longer at the time of interview.

⁵ All responses per case study school were added together and divided by the number of respondents.

⁶ Although there are differences between leadership and management, within the context of this research ‘senior manager’ and ‘senior leader’ are used synonymously, since during the research period in both schools, titles moved from ‘manager’ (at the time of the first survey) to ‘leader’ (by the time of the interviews and second survey). Whilst the senior management team became the senior leadership team, the role did not change.

⁷ Questionnaire coded 27 of the second survey.

⁸ Learning Support Assistants, adults other than teachers who assist individual students or small groups of students with their learning.

⁹ Senior Leadership Team.

¹⁰ Teaching and Learning Responsibilities – a government dictated re-organisation of management allowances against strict criteria resulting in some staff losing allowance after an interim ‘safeguarded’ period.

A full explanation of TLR points can be found at

[http://www.teachernet.gov.uk/_doc/9912/20060601%20STPCD%20SECTI ON%203%20\(MAY%202006\)%20\(21%20June%20amd\).doc](http://www.teachernet.gov.uk/_doc/9912/20060601%20STPCD%20SECTI ON%203%20(MAY%202006)%20(21%20June%20amd).doc) [Accessed 22nd August, 2006].

¹¹ Now the Specialist Schools and Academies Trust.

¹² A useful description of the Accountability of Governing Bodies can be found on-line at http://www.thurrock.gov.uk/education/governors/content.php?page=gov_accountability [Accessed 19th February, 2006].

¹³ *Raising Standards and Tackling Workload: A National Agreement*, signed in 2003 by the government and major teaching unions, describes the ways in which teachers' administrative duties have changed. It can be found at <http://www.remodelling.org/remodelling/nationalagreement.aspx> [Accessed 22nd August, 2006].

¹⁴ 'Threshold payments' are a system where every two years a teacher can apply to have a salary upgrade based on proving an enhanced level of teaching performance.

¹⁵ Details of the surveys supervised by Keele University can be found at <http://www.keele.ac.uk/depts/ed/research/cfss-survey-types.htm> [Accessed 22nd August, 2006].

¹⁶ Information on the National Strategy for Key Stage 3 and other stages can be found at <http://www.standards.dfes.gov.uk/keystage3/aboutks3/strategyguide/> [Accessed 22nd August, 2006].

¹⁷ The latest government proposals for using pupil exam results in determining teachers' pay as part of performance management can be found at http://www.askatl.org.uk/atl_en/help/pay_calc/teachers/pm.asp [Accessed 22nd August, 2006].

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- Appendix 1 –
E835 pilot questionnaire

Perceptions of Accountability

1234

Please complete the following details about yourself

Sex Female ☐ Male ☐

Teaching Experience (approx.) years

Main Teaching Subject

Main Role

(e.g. Classroom teacher/YTM/Subject leader/CAM etc.)

Please list below those groups/individuals to whom you feel you are accountable for your work, and how you demonstrate that accountability.

Group/Individual	Method(s)

Would you be willing to be interviewed about your views on accountability at a later date?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Thank you for completing this questionnaire. Please return it to Roger Hutchin's pigeon-hole by

FRIDAY, MAY 24th

- Appendix 2 -

Coding for stakeholders

A. Parents	}	School
B. Pupils		
C. Colleagues		
D. Heads of Department / Line Managers		
E. Senior Management / Headteacher		
F. Governors	}	Local
G. Local Education Authority		
H. Local Community	}	National
I. Office for Standards in Education		
J. National Government		
K. Society		
L.		
M.		
N.		
P.		

- Appendix 3 -
E835 revised pilot questionnaire

Perceptions of Accountability

1234

Section 1. About you

This information will help me to identify if there are significant links between a teacher's role and teaching experience, and how they consider themselves to be accountable.

Please complete the following details about yourself

Sex

Female

☐

Male

☐

Teaching Experience (approx.)

0-5 years

☐

5-10 years

☐

10-15 years

☐

15-20 years

☐

20+ years

☐

Main Teaching Subject

Main Role

(e.g. Classroom teacher/YTM/Subject leader/CAM etc.)

Section 2. Your views on accountability

This section will help me to identify to which groups and individuals teachers feel accountable and how this is demonstrated. I will compare this information with past research to identify any changes, and in future terms I hope to repeat the exercise to ascertain if views have been modified.

Please look at those groups/individuals in the table over the page. Please tick those to whom you feel you are accountable for your work, and list how you demonstrate that accountability to each group/individual. Please add any others you wish.

Group/Individual**Method(s)**

Parents		
Pupils		
Colleagues		
Heads of Department		
Line Managers		
Senior Management		
Headteacher		
School Governors		
School Sponsoring Companies		
Local Education Authority		
Local Community		
Office for Standards in Education		
National Government		
Society		

Would you be willing to be interviewed about your views on accountability at a later date?

Yes

☐

No

☐

Thank you for completing this questionnaire. Please return it to Roger Hutchin's pigeon-hole by

FRIDAY, MAY 24th

- Appendix 4 -
Questionnaire draft revised for EdD

Perceptions of Accountability

1234

Section 1. About you

This information will help me to identify if there are significant links between a teacher's role and teaching experience, and how they consider themselves to be accountable.

Please complete the following details about yourself

Sex **Female** ☐ **Male** ☐

Teaching Experience (approx.)

0-5 years	<input type="checkbox"/>
5-10 years	<input type="checkbox"/>
10-15 years	<input type="checkbox"/>
15-20 years	<input type="checkbox"/>
20+ years	<input type="checkbox"/>

Main Teaching Subject

Main Role

(e.g. Classroom teacher/YTM/Subject leader/CAM etc.)

Section 2. Your views on accountability

This section will help me to identify to which groups and individuals teachers feel accountable and how this is demonstrated. I will compare this information with past research to identify any changes, and in future terms I hope to repeat the exercise to ascertain if views have been modified.

Please look at those groups/individuals in the table over the page. Please tick those to whom you feel you are accountable for your work, indicate how strongly you feel accountable and list how you demonstrate that accountability to each group/individual. Please add any others you wish.

To whom do you feel accountable? How accountable do you feel? How do you show you are accountable?

Groups/Individuals	Very	Moderately	Slightly	Not at all	Method(s)
Parents					
Pupils					
Colleagues					
Heads of Department					
Line Managers					
Senior Management					
Headteacher					
School Governors					
School Sponsoring Companies					
Local Education Authority					
Local Community					
Office for Standards in Education					
National Government					
Society					

Thank you for completing this questionnaire. Please return it to Roger Hutchin's pigeon-hole by FRIDAY, Dec 25th

- Appendix 5 -
Second revised draft questionnaire for EdD

Perceptions of Accountability

1234

Section 1. About you

This information will help me to identify if there are significant links between a teacher's role and teaching experience, and how they consider themselves to be accountable.

Please complete the following details about yourself

Sex	Female	<input type="checkbox"/>	Male	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----	--------	--------------------------	------	--------------------------

Teaching Experience (approx.)	0-5 years	<input type="checkbox"/>
	5-10 years	<input type="checkbox"/>
	10-15 years	<input type="checkbox"/>
	15-20 years	<input type="checkbox"/>
	20+ years	<input type="checkbox"/>

Main Teaching Subject	<input type="text"/>
-----------------------	----------------------

Main Role	<input type="text"/>
-----------	----------------------

(e.g. Classroom teacher/YTM/Subject leader/CAM etc.)

Section 2. Your views on accountability

This section will help me to identify to which groups and individuals teachers feel accountable and how this is demonstrated. I will compare this information with past research to identify if current views have changed. In the future I hope to repeat the exercise to ascertain if views have been modified.

Please look at those groups/individuals in the table over the page. Please tick those to whom you feel you are accountable for your work; indicate how strongly you feel accountable; whether you feel accountable primarily because of a moral, professional or contractual obligation; and describe briefly how you demonstrate that accountability to each group/individual. Please add any individuals/groups I have missed.

	I feel accountable for my teaching to						I feel accountable for my pupils' learning to						I feel accountable for my work, other than teaching, to						I show this accountability through
	never	rarely	sometimes	often	always	morally	professionally	contractually	never	rarely	sometimes	often	always	morally	professionally	contractually			
my pupils																			
my parents																			
my subject colleagues																			
my line manager																			
my headteacher																			
all my colleagues in the school																			
the Board of Governors																			
the Local Education Authority																			
the Department for Education and Skills																			
the community neighbouring the school																			
society in general																			
other																			

Thank you for your help.

- Appendix 6 -
Pilot questionnaire for first survey

1234

Perceptions of Accountability

Section 1. About you

This information will help me to identify if there are significant links between a teacher's role and teaching experience, and how they consider themselves to be accountable.

Please complete the following details about yourself

Sex: **Female** ☐ **Male** ☐

Teaching Experience (approx.)

0-5 years		5-10 years		10-15 years		15-20 years		20+ years	
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Main Teaching Subject

Main Role

(e.g. Classroom teacher/Head of department/etc.)

Section 2. Your views on accountability

This section will help me to identify to which groups and individuals teachers feel accountable and how this is demonstrated. I will compare this information with past research to identify if current views have changed. In the future I hope to repeat the exercise to ascertain if views have been modified.

- Please look at those groups/individuals in the table over the page.
- Please tick the appropriate box to show how strongly you feel accountable to each for your teaching, for your pupils' learning and for your other work as a teacher.
- Please add any individuals/groups to whom you feel accountable but whom I have missed.
- For those individuals and groups to which you feel at all accountable, please indicate whether you feel accountable primarily because of a moral, professional or contractual obligation.
- Describe briefly how you demonstrate that accountability to each group/individual.

Section 3. Your views on who should be accountable to you

This information will help me to plot lines of accountability across the school.

Please tick the boxes below to indicate who is or whom you feel should be accountable to you.
If you do not think an individual or group should be accountable to you, please leave that line blank.
Please indicate if you think this is due to a moral, professional or contractual obligation, and how that accountability is or should be demonstrated.

	is/are accountable to me	should be accountable to me	morally	professionally	contractually	How he/she/they do/should show their accountability to me
my pupils						
my parents						
my subject colleagues						
my line manager						
my headteacher						
all my colleagues in the school						
the Board of Governors						
the Local Education Authority						
the Department for Education and Skills						
the community neighbouring the school						
business sponsors of the school						
society in general						
other						

**Please return this in the envelope provided to Roger Hutchin's pigeon-hole by Friday,
December 12th.**

Thank you for your assistance.

- Appendix 7 -
First survey questionnaire

Perceptions of Accountability

Section 1. About you

This information will help me to identify if there are significant links between a teacher's role and teaching experience, and how they consider themselves to be accountable.

Please complete the following details about yourself

Sex: **Female** ☐ **Male** ☐

Teaching Experience (approx.)

0-5 years		5-10 years		10-15 years		15-20 years		20+ years	
-----------	--	------------	--	-------------	--	-------------	--	-----------	--

Main Teaching Subject

Main Role

(e.g. Classroom teacher/Head of department/etc.)

Section 2. Your views on accountability

This section will help me to identify to which groups and individuals teachers feel accountable and how this is demonstrated. I will compare this information with past research to identify if current views have changed. In the future I hope to repeat the exercise to ascertain if views have been modified.

- **Please look at those groups/individuals in the table over the page.**
- **Please tick the appropriate box to show how strongly you feel accountable to each for your teaching, for your pupils' learning and for your other work as a teacher.**
- **Please add any individuals/groups to whom you feel accountable but whom I have missed.**
- **For those individuals and groups to which you feel at all accountable, please indicate whether you feel accountable primarily because of a moral, professional or contractual obligation.**
- **Describe briefly how you demonstrate that accountability to each group/individual.**

Section 3. Your views on who should be accountable to you

This information will help me to plot lines of accountability across the school.

Please tick the boxes below to indicate who is or whom you feel should be accountable to you.
If you do not think an individual or group should be accountable to you, please leave that line blank.
Please indicate if you think this is due to a moral, professional or contractual obligation, and how that accountability is or should be demonstrated.

	is/are accountable to me	should be accountable to me	morally	professionally	contractually	How he/she/they do/should show their accountability to me
my pupils						
my parents						
my subject colleagues						
my line manager						
my headteacher						
all my colleagues in the school						
the Board of Governors						
the Local Education Authority						
the Department for Education and Skills						
the community neighbouring the school						
business sponsors of the school						
society in general						
other						

Please return this in the envelope provided to Roger Hutchin's pigeon-hole by Friday, December 12th.

Thank you for your assistance.

- Appendix 8 -

Acetate analysis

First Survey Series

Respondent

1

	I feel accountable for my teaching to						I feel accountable for my pupils' learning to						I feel accountable for my work, other than teaching, to											
	never	rarely	sometimes	often	always	morally	professionally	contractually	never	rarely	sometimes	often	always	morally	professionally	contractually	never	rarely	sometimes	often	always	morally	professionally	contractually
my pupils				X			X					X			X					X			X	
my parents			X	X			X					X			X					X			X	
my subject colleagues				X			X					X			X					X			X	
my line manager			X				X					X			X					X			X	
my headteacher					X		X					X			X					X			X	
all my colleagues in the school			X				X					X			X					X			X	
the Board of Governors			X					X								X				X			X	
the Local Education Authority		X						X								X							X	
the Department for Education and Skills		X						X								X							X	
the community neighbouring the school				X							X				X					X				
business sponsors of the school			X					X								X							X	
society in general				X											X								X	
other																								

- Appendix 9 -

Interview schedule

Please can you confirm your name.

When did you start teaching?

What brought you into teaching?

How do you view yourself as a teacher?

Professional? Employee? Other?

Professional-On what grounds would you claim teaching to be a profession?

How does this effect your feelings of accountability?

To whom do you feel primarily accountable? Why? How do you demonstrate this accountability?

Do you see yourself accountable to any of them for professional/moral/contractual reasons?

Try some possible stakeholders which have not been mentioned. - pupils / parents / headteacher / line manager / governors / LEA / DfES / society / business sponsors

Do you feel accountable to ...? Why? Why not?

Have your feelings changed at all during your career?

Have any government initiatives influenced your thinking?

Within the school community do you feel that anyone should be accountable to you? Why? How should they be? Are they?

- Appendix 10 -

Second survey

Perceptions of Accountability

This questionnaire is the second in a series looking at teachers' attitudes to accountability and whether the national move towards specialist school has changed them. The questions included in this questionnaire are based upon response to the initial series of questionnaires some of you answered fifteen months ago and the interviews which followed.

Roger Hutchin

Section 1. About you

This information will help me to identify if there are significant links between a teacher's views and teaching experience

Please complete the following details about yourself

Sex:

Female

☐

Male

☐

Teaching Experience (approx.)

0-5 years	<input type="checkbox"/>	5-10 years	<input type="checkbox"/>	10-15 years	<input type="checkbox"/>	15-20 years	<input type="checkbox"/>	20+ years	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----------	--------------------------	------------	--------------------------	-------------	--------------------------	-------------	--------------------------	-----------	--------------------------

Main Teaching Subject

Main Role

(e.g. Classroom teacher/Head of department/etc.)

Section 2. Specialist School status and Accountability

This section is based on views I have received about how teachers' feelings about accountability have been changes by government educational initiatives.

Has Specialist School status made a difference about whom you feel accountable to?

Yes	No	Have only worked in specialist schools
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

If yes, in what ways?

When you entered teaching did you see yourself primarily as a professional or an employee? Please indicate where you considered yourself to be on this continuum.

Professional					Employee

Where do you feel yourself to be now on this continuum?

Professional					Employee

If your feeling has changed, why?

Have any of these government initiatives changed your perception of yourself as a professional or employee?

If so, please indicate whether they have made you feel more professional or more of an employee.

1988 Education Act	Professional					Employee

Local Management of Schools	Professional					Employee

Key Stage 3 Initiative	Professional					Employee

General Teaching Council	Professional					Employee

Others (please specify)	Professional					Employee

.....

.....	Professional					Employee

..

Section 3. General feelings of Accountability

This section will allow me to judge if there has been any significant change in how teacher accountability is felt since my last questionnaire.

Please tick the box to show the how accountable you feel to each group/individual, and whether any accountability is for moral, professional or contractual reasons.

	I feel accountable for my teaching to					I feel accountable for my pupils' learning to					I feel accountable for my work, other than teaching, to				
	never	rarely	sometimes	often	always	never	rarely	sometimes	often	always	never	rarely	sometimes	often	always
contractually															
professionally															
morally															
myself															
my family															
my pupils															
my parents															
my subject colleagues															
my line manager															
my headteacher															
all my colleagues in the school															
the Board of Governors															
the Local Education Authority															
Department for Education and Skills															
Community neighbouring the school															
business sponsors of the school															

A contractual obligation may be defined as one which arises from your role as a paid employee;
a professional obligation as one which arises from you being a qualified teacher; and
a moral obligation as one which arises from your conscience rather than from the other two categories.
Teaching refers to your work in the classroom, and **learning** to your pupils' work in the classroom

Section 4. Your views on business sponsorship

This section is based on views I have received about the involvement of business and individual sponsors in state schools.

Please look at these statements and by ticking a box indicate whether you agree or disagree with it.

Schools should be allowed to seek sponsorship to supplement their budgets.

Strongly agree				Strongly disagree

Individual schools should accept money from individual sponsors

Strongly agree				Strongly disagree

Sponsors should have no influence on the running of the school.

Strongly agree				Strongly disagree

Sponsors should have a say in appointing the school's leadership.

Strongly agree				Strongly disagree

Sponsors should have no say in appointing all the school's staff.

Strongly agree				Strongly disagree

Sponsors should be represented on the Governing Body.

Strongly agree				Strongly disagree

Sponsors should have a say in the curriculum taught in the school.

Strongly agree				Strongly disagree

Sponsors should not be allowed to promote their products within schools.

Strongly agree				Strongly disagree

Business experience can improve the management of schools.

Strongly agree				Strongly disagree

Business sponsorship creates unfair differences between state schools

Strongly agree				Strongly disagree

Thank you for completing this questionnaire.

Please return it to the orange box in the staffroom by Wednesday December 14th.

Strongly agree				Strongly disagree